

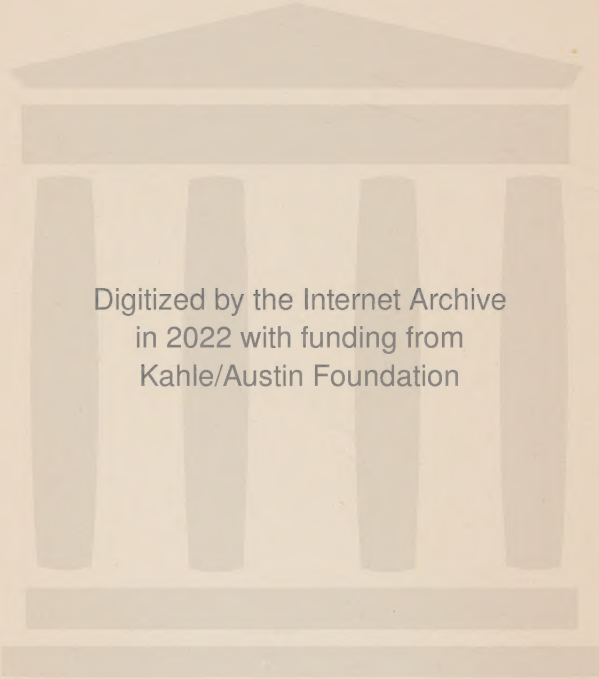
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PSYCHO-ANALYSIS
IN THE
SERVICE OF EDUCATION

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

IN THE SERVICE OF EDUCATION

BEING AN

INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

BY

Dr. OSKAR PFISTER

Pastor and Seminary Teacher at Zurich

AUTHORISED TRANSLATION

LONDON

HENRY KIMPTON

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TO MY FRIEND

DR. ERNEST JONES

THE PIONEER OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS
IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

The translation now presented to the English-speaking public was begun by Dr. Charles Rockwell Payne, Wadhams, N.Y., continued by Dr. F. Gschwind, Zurich, and revised by Miss Barbara Low, B.A., London. The fact that three such able persons undertook this work is extremely gratifying to me, and I wish in this place to put on record my deep sense of gratitude to them.

OSKAR PFISTER.

Zurich, September, 1921.

PREFACE

The series of lectures here published was delivered before a convention of teachers of whom the majority were already familiar with psycho-analysis, at least in its fundamental principles. To many, however, the much-decried and much-praised method of Freud was entirely unknown. My task consisted, therefore, in providing for beginners, on the one hand, an easily comprehensible introduction, and for advanced students, on the other hand, an explanation of my position towards the most important and most debatable points of psycho-analytic investigation.

Whether I have succeeded in satisfying these two widely separated demands I shall leave to the reader to determine. Those who would like to delve deeper into the study of analytic pedagogics are referred to my book "The Psychoanalytic Method."* The present work may serve as an introduction and amplification of that text book. Many a problem which I had to leave undecided at that time has found its solution since the four years of intense investigation which have elapsed since the writing of that work, even though many questions still remain obscure.

At that time I might have been justly accused of not having taken a clearly defined position towards Adler and C.G. Jung. This new book will, I hope, remedy this deficiency.

The fact that I had to describe the position of psycho-analysis within the field of education gave me

* "The Psychoanalytic Method" by O. Pfister. Trans. by C. R. Payne. Moffat Yard & Company, New York.

the desired opportunity of emphasising the moral superiority and religious value of that much maligned movement. Those who in the name of the highest ideals attack the analysis of the young are at the best deserving of pity. As a consolation it may be recalled that every great movement has at first met with opprobrium, and that the persecutions with which the fanaticism of individual opponents has tormented us have been a hundredfold outweighed by the joys of scientific gain and practical results.

O. PFISTER,

Zurich.

Pastor.

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I.

THE STUDY OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS A DUTY OF EVERY TEACHER.

A. NATURE AND TASK OF PSYCHO-ANALYTIC EDUCATION.

What is psycho-analysis, and why is it a subject of consideration for the educator? Permit me to answer these questions by narrating a holiday experience.

On a bright Sunday morning a huge Swiss cross above one of the most beautiful health resorts of the Canton of Valais called the community to an open-air service. And the festively attired guests, among them several teachers, physicians and pastors, came in troops to listen under the green larches, seated on stones or soft mossy pillows, to the words of the celebrated preacher. The tinkling of herd-bells replaced those of the church, the splashing of waves the music of the organ; giant mountain peaks, snow-white and weather-beaten, looked down from the heavenly heights. Would it be possible for the preacher to divert the attention of the congregation from this wonderful symphony of colours to his plain words? Yes, he succeeded, because he made his appeal to the deepest need and longing of his listeners. "For him who has nothing to hope for," he said, "there remains only suicide. To escape from the imprisonment of the 'solitary' to the social love of the 'solidary' is the great aim. But it can only be attained by the aid of a kind of 'moral chemistry,' for our psyche is a palimpsest, a manuscript the original of which is to be deciphered from an inferior superimposed inscription. What we need is a 'décomposition de l'âme,' for only by this can the

pristine beauty of the soul be won back, and the foundation laid for a more beautiful edifice of life. From plain human nature traced back to its original nature, God creates the sublime work of art that bears witness to His magnificence."

"*Décomposition de l'âme*," moral chemistry for the restoration of the valuable earlier soul text out of the palimpsest of our mental content, salvation from loneliness to social life, new building of life,—are not these the expressions which portray as clearly and vividly as possible the psycho-analytic problem from its practical side? The talented Genevese pastor has given us an excellent introduction to our task. And in so doing he does not speak as a psycho-analyst—psycho-analysis is still unknown to him, even though, as a genuine Genevese, he recognises the immense significance of unconscious activity. As a sensitive human being, however, he has recognised the presupposition for the higher development of mental life: an act of salvation which does away with the former chaos, since it first analyzes the mental life.

Psycho-analysis will help in those cases where the mind may be compared to a field overrun by a torrent. It will remove the rubbish, so that there may be room for proper growth. It aims at a return to healthy nature,—reformation, *i.e.*, retro-formation,—because without this a new foundation is psychologically impossible. To use Maeder's simile, it leads the mental car which has got on the wrong track, to the switch that puts it on the right one. Salvation from injurious attachments through analysis of the mental content is the first goal which psycho-analysis has in view.

Nevertheless, this purely negative conception does not satisfy us. It finds its positive amplification in the idea of autonomous personality. The analyst conscientiously guards against the temptation of wishing to play the Mentor who guides his *Télémaque* by leading strings. Far from attempting to compare psycho-analysis to the confessional in the ordinary sense, a correct psycho-analysis proceeds steadfastly towards

developing the independence of the pupil, and destroying the danger of being directed by the analyst. No other educational method is in such a fortunate position for forestalling the evil state of impending dependence on another person, for none knows so thoroughly the laws in accordance with which such a tutelage and lack of will comes about, and none is so quickly and surely informed of the slightest traces of this restriction as the analytic method. Where a pupil remains dependent on his analyst, we may be sure that it is not psycho-analysis, but its misuse, through lack of skill of its representative, which is to blame for the failure.

How the autonomous personality is to be understood, ethics must determine. Psycho-analysis contributes to the solution of this problem, however, by insisting on the right of every person to the impulse for love, recognition and freedom. In the light of psycho-analytic investigation the art of life is in good part the art of loving, in which expression the word *love* is to be considered in the entire fulness of its significance; and also the art of achieving. The person developing inwards (introverted) is not the healthy, and consequently not the happy, person. Loveless life is bound to founder in anxiety and fear. An attempt has been made to impute to psycho-analysis a coarse definition of love in the lower and naturalistic sense. Nothing could be more distorted than this. Of course, analysis has called attention to the fact that ethically valuable love is related to the primitive, just as the cultivated fruit is to the wild. From primitive love moral love is developed under the influence of complicated conditions conformable to the higher aims of human nature, and, as without the wild tree the cultivated fruit must perish, so the nobler love could not come into being if the primitive instinct had not existed and had not been developed to a higher level by appropriate education. Psycho-analysis has done exactly this, pointing out the possibility and necessity of such a cultivation of instinct, and shown how in the place of gross love an altruistic

and idealistic love, reaching even to the heights of the Christian love of God, can appear under certain conditions and replace the grosser forms. Even in sexual love, analysis declares the moral factors to be by far the most important. In this way psycho-analysis has laid the foundations for ethical and religious idealism, while the ethical idealism which may be joined to the names of a Socrates, Jesus, Zwingli, Kant and Fichte, had been left in the lurch by traditional psychology. Analysis has afforded it a substantial support, and will not—fleeing from the instincts in monkish fashion,—place a ban upon natural love. But psycho-analysis does not stand with Kant for a rigid idealism robbed of love; it demands throughout satisfaction of the love-hunger properly belonging to human nature. Naturalistic analysts, of whom there are of course some, lay stress on profane love, whilst those with idealistic tendencies organically combine sacred love with profane, and subordinate the earthly to the heavenly love. Psycho-analytic investigation always demonstrates, however, that the life impulse must ever remain true to reality. Further, love must impel to action in the sense of the saying: "Whatsoever ye would that people should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Religious idealism, too, may not sap the strength of the task demanded by reality; it must create the reservoir of energy which will preserve for that task—to be used later—those energies which cannot be immediately utilised.

If the autonomous personality is provided in the sense of a character formation which masters its life task by means of love and duty, then self-appreciation will likewise find that healthy development in which courage and humility, pride and modesty, are united.

Emancipation from inner inhibitions for the autonomous, loving and faithful personality, that is the general aim of psycho-analysis. Its means are, generally stated, the abolition of false appearances. It will destroy the mirage which so many dazzled souls pursue. It destroys the life illusion by disclosing to each individual his real wishes and motives. It is

inexorable in its demands for self-understanding and self-criticism. While the suggestion method lays no stress on the recognition of the inner condition, and simply holds the aim in view, endeavouring at the same time to effect an intensification of volition, psycho-analysis fares steadfastly forward over the stony path of self-knowledge to the innermost recesses of the personal ego. Why this route under some circumstances is psychologically necessary, and suggestion a vain undertaking, we shall demonstrate later on. But we assert now that in the pursuit of truth in analytic investigation and in the faith in the saving effect of truth there is a deep moral idea.

By this general definition we have given the aims of psycho-analysis, but we have not yet considered thoroughly the ideas "*décomposition de l'âme*" and "*chimie morale*," and have accordingly left out of consideration the specific part of the method under discussion. That which distinguishes psycho-analysis from all other psychological and educational methods is the search for the unconscious instinctive sources of mental life by the aid of the interpretation of associations.

Psycho-analysis attempts to penetrate to the unconscious. This is the great heresy for which it cannot be pardoned. Of course academic psychology recognises an unconscious, but it does not know what to make of it. It does not even know whether it is physical or psychical!

The only unanimity is to be found in the opinion that the unconscious is to be considered merely as a potential disposition without a definite content. Only a very few professional psychologists in Germany are willing to concede that there are unconscious mental processes which are important for our conscious thought, feeling and action. But these few, like Offner and Liebmann, know no method for apprehending and investigating those unconscious processes. Thus the unconscious of academic psychology is nothing but a night in which all cats are grey, a night into which, in obedience to the ordinances of

the moral police, a decent man does not in general venture. What are we to do with this awe-inspiring unconscious? The analyst hurls it as quickly as possible into the lumber-room filled with the useless curiosities of the History of Psychology. He does not mount cloud-horses and phantasy-mares. He seeks real quantities even in psychology, and "real," as Hermann Lotze proves, means the same as "effective."

Psycho-analysis is a method for discovering unconscious mental forces. Herein consists its psychological task. That there are mental powers behind consciousness which exert a strong influence on our life it did not itself discover. Rather, it borrowed the concept from the investigation of neurosis. Charcot, Janet and others had shown that in many pathological phenomena momentary impulses were acting which were completely hidden from consciousness; that there are thus mental directing forces beyond consciousness. Bernheim and many others had given commands to persons in the hypnotic state, but had forbidden the memory of the command in the waking state. The commands were actually carried out without the slightest recollection of the determining factors. Thereby it was experimentally proved that there are unconscious and yet mental determinants of the waking life. If academic psychology stormed at this fact, which did not fit in with its own dogmatic system, or passed it over in silence, this did not alter the actual state of affairs in any way. What it did greatly alter was the esteem which investigators eager for facts should have for such scholastic mental investigation.

Only in the last decade has the excellent school of Külpe done something through the researches of Ach and Kaffka for the investigation of unconscious directing forces; timidly enough, indeed, and without considering the great achievements of psycho-analysis. Nobody will begrudge them the joys of "Discovery" where others had long preceded them and advanced further.

Freud, the great founder of psycho-analysis, whose name I can only utter with profound admiration and reverence, recognized, nevertheless, that the extent of the unconscious mental life was infinitely greater, and its influence on consciousness enormously more diverse and extended than any of his predecessors had suspected. All our thought, feeling and volition are dependent on unconscious mental conditions, and even where experimental psychology thinks it has the contributory factors nicely in hand, it is a thousand times deceived without suspecting the fact. The experiment of the so-called meaningless syllables is one of the many proofs of this. The unconscious directing forces which, in their totality, may briefly be called the unconscious, are not merely little disturbers of the peace which may give rise to errors in speech, writing or gesture; they may attain gigantic power over people. They govern many a mental life incomparably more rigorously than reason and insight. They occasion the highest artistic, poetic, moral and religious productions, as well as the most fearful crimes. The unconscious mental impulses are generous genii by whose means God distributes His richest gifts, no less than infamous demons who jeeringly draw many a man, greedy of light and beauty, into the hell of crime. They are the guardian angels of the healthy, as well as the torturing spirits of the sick. In all so-called nervous disorders—and the extent of these is enormous—their brutality is often beyond description. In all mental diseases the subterranean powers of the mind announce themselves vehemently, and even where there is undoubtedly cerebral lesion the form of the clinical picture betrays at least the finger prints of the broker's men, who are, indeed, far away from the conscious, but nevertheless active, and carry out their work correspondingly to the organic defect but according to their own psychological laws. Unconscious factors are also—and this is the most important for us—at work in the course of mental development; they determine largely the life plan and life tendency, and prescribe exactly the limits

in which the conscious motives may exert their influence. They determine the direction in which the reaction to pedagogic influence will occur. A powerful host of spirits unseen by the ordinary educator accompany the pupil through the years. The New Testament belief, shared also by Jesus, in the existence of guardian angels, as well as demons, of children, is psychologically a fine belief, no matter how false it may be metaphysically. The thoughts and wishes which arise in the soul of the child change under conditions (which we shall investigate) into a kind of independent mental being within the human mind, and exert the most intense influence over it, much stronger than all conscious considerations and wishes, which are indeed often merely the dictates of the unconscious. Insight into the competition of such unconscious educators may be disagreeable for pedagogues, indeed most fatal, but to ignore it does not help in the least; rather does it great harm.

Considered at closer range, nevertheless, the comprehension of subconscious life-determinants or life-forces acquired by psycho-analysis, which had indeed long been known to the great poets and other students of humanity, and inevitably remained hidden to professional psychology steeped in sterile scholasticism, is reassuring rather than otherwise. For while we had previously been inclined to trace back those mighty mysteries of the mind to a hereditary and in a large degree unchangeable bias, psycho-analysis shows—without contradicting the importance of the constitutional endowment—that a very great part of the unconscious mental impulses is acquired, and is susceptible of the strongest influences. If we have previously spoken of psycho-analysis as a technique for the mere investigation of the unconscious, we may now assert that it also furnishes the most important medium for controlling the unconscious. At the beginning one was even inclined to believe that with the laying bare of the unconscious its subjugation was already accomplished. The old saying of Socrates and Bacon that knowledge is power seemed to be ready for its

triumph. But already the founder of psycho-analysis himself perceived that more might be necessary than the mere transfer of the unconscious material into the conscious. Exact knowledge of a strong enemy and his armament is not yet victory, although Moltke has said: "The most important thing in the art of war is the knowledge of the enemy's whereabouts." The dragging-up of the unconscious material suffices for mastering it only when sufficiently powerful conscious forces overcome the former, now revealed to consciousness, and no new loop-hole in the unconscious is left open for it. What the task of the psycho-analyst is in the face of a refractory instinct we shall show when we have developed the theory of the repression into the unconscious. We may say provisionally: the analysis which we at first entrusted with the office of prosecuting attorney towards the unconscious life forces, becomes for these forces a powerful educator, who leads them into useful channels under the guidance of reason and conscience.

As we have already said, the ascertaining of the unconscious is not the work of psycho-analysis alone. But while the investigators whose title to fame was established by this discovery utilised hypnotism, Sigmund Freud went over to an entirely new method. We must examine this in order to understand the nature of analytic education. Freud abandoned hypnosis not only owing to the fact that many patients who suffer severely under the tyranny of the unconscious are known to be inaccessible to hypnosis, but also to the observation that the gnomes of the mind could be followed much further down in another way. I cannot here describe the way in which the clever investigator made his great discovery. Those who engage in analysis will have to work through the epoch-making "Studies in Hysteria," a work which has been since superseded in many points by its great author himself. Only the fundamental outlines of the method can be sketched here.

As an example, we may choose from the extensive material which Freud has subjected to the new

method of procedure, the dream, and particularly the seemingly meaningless dream. The dreamer is urged to keep sharply in view a particular part of the dream, perhaps a figure or an occurrence, and, without criticism, to tell the first and following associations which come into his mind when he thinks of the figure or occurrence. Thus Freud goes through the whole dream, while limiting himself for the time being to this mechanical collection of associations. This part of the method represents a series of simple reaction-experiments in which the dream fragments figure as stimulus-words. In this procedure frequently were brought to light facts of memory, facts which obviously had formed part of the dream, but there likewise came into view motives which suddenly gave the dream-fragment an unexpected significance, and when the dream, together with the collected associations, was considered as a whole, intelligible connections were perceived. The collected associations afforded, as one might say, building stones from which the dream structure was erected, and also revealed unexpectedly important references to the meaning of the structure, in spite of the fact that attempts at interpretation were forbidden.

Without going more fully into the dream theory I will give an example for those among you who have not yet taken up this study.

A lady of thirty who had successfully passed her state examination in law seven years ago, but since then had failed to achieve any success with her dissertation for her doctor's degree, had the following phantasy before falling asleep. (I may give this, because dreams, hallucinations and meaningless waking phantasies show the same psychological structure.)

"I see an apple and an orange lying in S. Street. They roll towards each other, repel each other, and drive each other into my boarding-house."

I put the elements of the dream before the dreamer next day and received the following associations :*

* The words in brackets are my own; the others are the subject's associations with these words.

(Apple) "Paradise, Eve, Adam and Eve."

(Orange) "Recently, on a delightful excursion, I took oranges with me. A particularly sympathetic young gentleman was present, who greatly aroused my emotion."

(Paradise, Eve, Adam and Eve) "My youth, my whole childhood. The childish joys at home. My mother. How my brother looked after everything for me. I was protected and supported on all sides."

(The apple. Paradise) "The serpent: I still do not understand anything of it all."

(S. Street) "On the day of my arrival I was there and felt very unhappy. I shall never forget that day as long as I live. I had just parted from my young friend; my brother had just informed me at the place which I saw in the dream that he was going away soon and leaving me behind; he had enticed me here by a trick, etc. I became fearfully excited, and knew no more where I was and what I should do. This thought will always be connected with S. Street."

(The boarding-house) "There I am entirely independent and free, quite different from my previous life. I suffer no more under the compulsion of the conventions. I now move freely according to my own views and conscience, and feel younger. That is what I connect with the boarding-house."

Thus far our dialogue. We now see what the dream ideas portray. The apple recalls the Paradise of childhood with its heavenly freedom from care and its same seclusion with mother and brother, as well as its temptations to disobedience (serpent). The orange, a more valuable fruit, stands for the excursion with a man whom she loved in secret. Apple and orange bump each other; the dependence on mother and brother, the child's love, comes in conflict with a higher form of eroticism, namely, the woman's love. Apple and orange drive each other into the boarding-house. This conflict of emotions leads from the condition of infantile helplessness to independence, as indicated by the scene in S. Street, such as the dreamer

can exercise for the first time in her life at the boarding-house.

We here see a person in strife over the emancipation from the restrictions of the parental home, and can now understand the dim emotions of her mind. The most powerful conflict of her inner nature is expressed by the strife between apple and orange. We also recognise, however, that the attachment to the parental home and its paradisaical irresponsibilities is still too strong. Yet the longing for independence predominates in the conflict between the two kinds of love. With our explanation two melodies correspond which had constantly run through the dreamer's head for some days, viz., the folk-song "Him whom God will show great favour, him He sends into the wide world," and the tune "On the wings of song, Darling, I carry thee away!" The first melody corresponds to the motive given in the apple and betrays the desire for freedom from the fixation on the narrow maternal house, *i.e.*, the negative tendency; and the second points to the longing for conjugal love, thus expressing the theme outlined in the orange.

In a similar manner, according to Freud's recommendation, are the other expressions of the unconscious to be treated; thus, for instance, nervous symptoms, errors in speech and writing, instances of remarkable forgetfulness, the feeling of having already experienced a certain moment (*déjà vu*), etc. It is always necessary to direct the attention sharply to the phenomenon to be analysed, to collect associations to this apperceived idea without attempt at criticism or interpretation, and finally, by the aid of these associations, to interpret the phenomenon in question as simply as possible, and yet in such a way that all the ideas which were present at first, and others collected afterwards, may fit into the interpretation without forcing, and find a real meaning in it.

For a long time it was not known how it happened that the associations which appeared when sharp attention was paid to the manifestations of the unconscious, helped to lay bare their mental kernel. Then,

after Höffding and Claparède had put forward similar hypotheses, the clever experimental psychologist Poppelreuter made the important discovery that all reactions betray part of a greater whole to which the stimulus-word belongs. This fine confirmation of psycho-analytic experience I shall not discuss more fully in this place.

While Freud devoted himself at first to the particular symptoms, he changed later to keeping in view the life-totality of his analytic subjects, their general attitude towards people and reality, their unconscious life-plans, their reaction to external experience and demands. For every symptom stands in close relation to the whole personality. Thus he became the founder of personal psychology, the first complete exposition of which is contained in his clever book "A Childhood Memory of Leonardo de Vinci." In particular, Freud sought to show how the individual was bound to become what he did become according to psychological determinism. In other words, the psycho-analytic method became a biological one, whereby it was noted how the unconscious of an individual simply had to react according to the instincts of self-preservation and racial reproduction. There was recognised in the apparently purely meaningless and unintentional manifestations a meaning, a plan, even though this was often an insufficiently elaborated or an entirely frustrated one. Indeed, the nervous and emotional maladies disclosed a relative meaning, just as the unwished-for fever, when it destroys certain bacteria, may fulfil a useful mission.

Let us now return to the question: What is psycho-analysis to the educator? We are no longer at a loss for the answer. If you were so unkind as to require from me a definition that should enumerate definitely all discovered characteristics, I would have to avenge myself by a statement so formidable that it would, like a dragon, encircle and horrify my audience. I should have to describe the escape from harmful inhibitions to autonomous personality through love, through the performance of duty in everyday life,

and through idealism; further, the discovery of life-determinants and their subjection to insight and conscience, whereby the person becomes a spiritualised being in whom conscious and unconscious agree in perfect harmony. Your human kindness and educational insight will preserve me from the bitter fate of constructing such a monstrous sentence.

Therefore I simply say : *Psycho-analysis is a psychological method which, by collecting and interpreting associations, seeks out the unconscious instinctive sources and motives of mental life. It is therefore of great importance for pedagogics, because the seeking out of those unconscious factors which most strongly influence conscious life creates, in innumerable cases, an instrument or a basis for the regulation of these factors by conscious will.*

In accordance with this statement we understand by *psycho-analytic education* that pedagogy which on the one hand traces back to their meaning and origin the harmful inhibitions brought about by unconscious mental forces, undertaking to overcome the discovered unconscious forces by rendering them accessible to the will of the moral personality, and which on the other hand, in its positive work takes cognizance of the insight gained by psycho-analysis.

It is obvious, then, that psycho-analytic pedagogics will not perform all the educational work. Its work is not to be compared with that of the Saviour, who creates the highest values and guides us towards their attainment. It is satisfied with the rôle of pointsman and signalman in the sense indicated above, or, to use a still bolder, but not immodest comparison, with the rôle of the oculist who removes the injurious membrane from the patient's pupil. The physician does not give the light, but he helps to gain it. The pedanalyst drains from the barren field of the mind the dammed-up subteranean water which would otherwise find no outlet, by digging deep ditches and providing a useful channel for the previously injurious fluid. Psycho-analysis as such is a work of liberation, and hence purely negative; it aims at removing chains

which were imposed on the conscious life by unconscious mental processes. Ethics and the capacity of the youth for development will have to decide what the new life of the saved shall amount to. The goal of psycho-analytic education is the same as that of education in general. Psycho-analysis is merely an instrument of which education has to make use. At the best one can only say formally: Psycho-analysis strives for *absolute self-control*. Included in this is control over the subconscious mental forces as well. But it is the task of general education to teach in what direction this government can proceed. As analyst the educator is merely a ploughman, but the ploughman performs necessary preliminary work for the sower, and is often the same person as the sower. It should be emphasised that psycho-analysis performs indispensable services to the new canalisation of the life impulse by bringing to light the resistance originating in the unconscious. The negative work of emancipation and the positive reconstruction naturally do not fall into two separate acts. Rather, the giving up of the old is intimately united with the assumption of the new life-content.

With these statement we may consider the nature and task of psycho-analytic education sufficiently outlined.

B.—THE OBJECTS OF ANALYTIC EDUCATION.

We asserted that psycho-analysis is indispensable to education under certain circumstances, because in many cases it alone can gain the necessary influence over the subconscious mental forces. Now a sceptic—and sceptics are our favourite auditors—might object: "Let us see these mysterious ghosts, so that we may believe in them. Prove to us that the educator is really in duty bound to undertake the expulsion of the devil of which you speak."

Glady do I reply to this just demand. But there is one difficulty which I cannot conceal: the cases in

which analysis is a pedagogical task are so immeasurably numerous that I must limit myself to a selection which gives only a faint suggestion of their vast extent. Even the most experienced analyst is constantly meeting with new surprises. One surprise which the analyst never experiences is an analysis without surprises.

How shall I class my examples? Shall I speak first of all of pathological phenomena and then of the symptoms of healthy individuals? I confess that I cannot carry out this division. There is no sharp line of demarcation between sick and well. Many an individual who is physically well and who can in no way be considered as mentally ill in the ordinary sense of the term, is nevertheless in the eyes of the analyst an unhappy victim of his unconscious, and in regard to his life-happiness, his noblest possibility for work, a shamefully treated man who misses the best in real life and becomes a chronic invalid. Many a man who is morally reprehensible in his career, but who would not be termed ill in ordinary medical parlance, has turned out to be a victim of a distortion of instinct which has occurred within the unconscious, a state of affairs which has driven him irresistibly to evil. Hence I can do nothing with the division into *well* and *ill*.

Or should I differentiate cases which were directly observed in children from those which appeared in adults? This classification, too, would be inapplicable. Many a time a manifestation, *i.e.*, something out of the unconscious, which has appeared in childhood and later disappeared, may be much more clearly traced to its roots in an adult and its relations to other symptoms established, than in the immediate observation of such a phenomenon in a child. Further, in mature individuals, one has under review the whole course of development of the unconsciously created inhibition. And finally, the title of my lectures in no way implies that only the teacher of youthful individuals is to receive attention.

Besides asserting the educational importance of the earliest months and years of life, psycho-analysis has

also extended for the victim of the unconscious the age limits of the need for education very far, indeed even to old age. I therefore renounce a systematic presentation which would express the profoundest difference of the phenomena needing analysis, and arrange on practical grounds only the discussion of cases which will be presented here. The innumerable analytic problems which have only psychological, but not a pedagogical interest, I leave out of consideration.

Equipped with Fortunatus' cap, we enter a school-room which contains an uncommonly large number of neurotic or, as is usually said, nervous children, of various ages. I call your attention to the fact that I invent none of the cases, but select all from my own observation. Some of them I shall explain in the course of the lectures, the others are to be considered as analogous and psychological derivatives.

As we glance into the copybooks, one of the older girl pupils attracts our attention by her peculiar habit of constantly writing at some distance above the lines. The teacher calls her to order: "How often have I called your attention to this mistake! I should be sorry to have again to give you an imposition." The censured girl pulls herself together and writes a few lines correctly. Suddenly we see her eyes fill with tears. She has again fallen into the forbidden habit. Meanwhile the teacher has discovered a culprit who shades all the loops of the letters, so that the dark ovals stand out irregularly from the page. "This nonsense again? What's the idea of it?" "I don't know," stammers the delinquent, "my pen always does that!" "Well, I warn you once more," says the teacher, who has consideration for the otherwise obedient and industrious pupil. Blushing, the latter continues his writing, but before five minutes have passed we see him start in a scared manner, and a dark spot stands out on his copybook. He has already fallen back into his error. There sits a timid little fellow who crowds his letters close together. "Do you think you are packing sardines? Or do you wish

to save the State paper? Spread out your lines! Get a swing into your curves!" Thus the fatherly teacher.

Ah, it is easy to talk! But you do not know how much graphology (a much-bungled art, but one nevertheless to be considered seriously) teaches of the connection between writing and character. And when in the schoolroom you succeed in extorting the normal distance of the letters and even a little bold tail, do you think you have really changed the customary handwriting of your pupil?

In the figures cowering together the psycho-analyst sees the cramped mind chained by the unconscious, as he perceives in the careless, blustering script sparkling fireworks of the hysterical type which seeks to wrest itself from the clutches of the unconscious. Perhaps we may also find in our imaginary class a copybook which shows sudden changes of handwriting, without external recognisable and reasonable occasion for the same. Again we have discovered fine riddles ripe for analysis. Of practical importance are the inconceivably various cases of writer's cramp, which I have discovered even in a little girl in the lowest class of the school.

A hundred peculiarities of the form of the handwriting arouse our analytic curiosity. We also observe the mannerisms of the writers. One chews zealously at his penholder, although many a time he has been rebuked for so doing; another is constantly see-sawing with his legs; a third strips off the hang-nails from the bleeding and mishandled finger tips; a fourth utilises a pause in his writing to bite his finer-nails; a fifth makes an impertinent grimace of which he knows nothing; a sixth from time to time shrugs his shoulders; a seventh writes regularly a 2 in place of an *a*, and yet knows no reason for the stereotyped mistake. (Cf. my article: The cause of accompanying colours in acoustic perceptions and the nature of other synesthesias. *Imago* Year II. H. Heller, Vienna.)

And in this manner countless other peculiarities might be discovered. You are all able to add to my list from your own experience as teachers.

Let us remain for the lesson in arithmetic. Here, where everything goes strictly according to logic, one might reasonably suppose that the subterranean hobgoblin has lost his rights. Far from it. We have already met a pupil whose calculations have been upset by the evil one, so that the pen wrote a 2 instead of an *a*. Much more frequent is the case in which a pupil called to the blackboard becomes violently frightened and loses his head completely, although otherwise he thinks clearly, and the well-meaning teacher in no way spoke to him brutally. Often the confusion does not appear at first, but rather with the first difficult demand to which the pupil would have been equal if at his desk. The teacher, whom we invisibly overhear in order not to disturb him, seeks to spur on his pupil, who has come to a dead stop, by a direct appeal to his intelligence; as this does no good he upbraids him, psychologically-phenomenologically rightly, for his inattention. But how can this help the neurotic pupil who is painfully struggling to conceal his feeling of anxiety? The trouble obviously only becomes worse, and the prognosis for the future is a gloomy one. Shrugging his shoulders, the teacher dismisses his confused pupil, and neither of them is the wiser for the episode. As we have entered something like a witches' sabbath, we see our poor pedagogue come upon a pupil for whom in arithmetic the denominations "stupid" and "lazy" would appear to be almost too flattering. Strange to say, in grammar and composition lessons the youth thinks perfectly clearly, and now, after weeks of explanation, he cannot comprehend that 4×4 and 4 *to the 4th* are not identical! A year ago he did excellently, so that the teacher concludes that it is premeditated renitence. But the master has done him no harm, and in other subjects there is no ground for complaint. How is this to be interpreted? A pleasant counterpart to this boy, who, it seems, is lost for mathematics, is formed by that excellent calculator who devours figures with absolute intellectual hunger and attacks geometrical lines with an affectionate regard. Is this not the

solitary who, during recess and on the way to school, avoids all comrades; and did there not a short time ago fall from his portfolio a leaf which he grabbed up quickly and, frightened to death, concealed as rapidly as possible. So rapidly, indeed, that we could only catch the superscription: "Death the Reliever." Might not there be some connection between the mathematical super-performance, the social deficiency and the title of the poem? However that may be, the teacher is only concerned with the mathematician, and holds him up to the whole class as a shining example.

We enter another room, this time without our Fortunatus' cap. Instruction in the mother tongue is just beginning. An essay has to be handed in. A bashful girl sobs: "I could not finish the task; I suddenly had such a headache that nothing would come into my head, and mother sent me to bed." Here we have once more the familiar "essay headache," and occurring in an excellent little creature who certainly would not besmirch herself with a lie. Where resolution for an act fails, the most diverse pains arise as helpers in need. How shall we treat them? Sympathetically? Angrily? Our deliberations are disturbed by a little one who has to read, but stutters terribly. Why does the tongue stick at the *F* and *I*, where the vowel does not demand any special organic exertions? An enigma for us is a seven-year-old pupil who simply cannot pronounce the word "suddenly." "Oh yes," explains the teacher, "that is the fateful word of which her foster-mother told us. She asserted that the stubbornness of the little one came from the Devil, and struck her brutally. But then other words become interdicted, until the child really believed that she was possessed of a devil, till such time as she was taken away from the coarse woman." "And how do you, dear colleague, explain the impotence of the child?" "I must confess that I am in presence of an absolute enigma." (Let me disclose in parentheses that I myself was the perplexed teacher who, as a young

pastor, had this case, and was proud when I had relieved the child at least of her belief of being possessed, and had provided her a better home. I did not understand the obsessional neurosis. The child turned out badly later—as I afterwards learnt, whereas by analytic treatment of her neurosis she would in all probability have been saved.)

There were many cases of mistakes in speech, apparently meaningless, in reality significant. Their secret is, however, usually hidden. Involuntary indiscretion speaks from the answer of a pupil of mine who, in reply to the question "What are the commonest disease of the Orient?" earnestly said: "Plague, malaria and essay" ("Aufsatz" for "Aussatz" = leprosy). Shall we wager that the keen Orientalist is no great friend of essay-writing, although he had no intention of making the fact public?

Finally I would mention, so as not to linger too long in one class, those essays from which sober reason can derive no meaning. Nor can their writer; but still he was irresistibly impelled to write down his phantasies. What the teacher can make out of them does not trouble him very much. Enough that he got something off his mind.

I shall not here discuss the countless compositions in which the pupil expresses his all-destroying pessimism, his aloofness from humanity, his rage at life, his scorn of the most venerable emotions. Old-fashioned educators thought it sufficient to eliminate such absurdities of defective pupils by threats and, in particular cases, by expulsion from school.

The psycho-analyst, on the other hand, is glad when the erring and endangered subject opens his dark room and thereby affords the educator the opportunity of intelligently and sympathetically vanquishing the morally destructive process. And even where direct intervention is out of the question, the analytically trained eye can often decide the cause of the trouble with certainty, and by cautious admonition to the whole class banish much mischief.

Shall I gather psycho-analytic material from *religious instruction*? Shall I speak of the raging hatred of God which exists entirely without reasonable grounds? Or the denial of God co-existing with the worship of the world-spirit active in Nature? Or the passionate preference for Catholicism with complete intellectual denial of its doctrines? Shall I speak of religious visions, which are not rare, even during the school age? Or of the ecstatic "speaking-with-tongues" of Zurich schoolchildren who had been drawn into the grasp of fanaticism by the so-called Pentacostal community? Or are you interested in passionate adoration of Jesus which is intended as compensation for the loss of love for the Father and Creator God? Or for the belief in a double who lives in Heaven and observes everything? Enough: here, too, the cases which belong to the domain of psycho-analysis are counted by thousands.

I should tire both you and myself if I passed in review other subjects; pointing out in *gymnastics*, perhaps, those subject to dizziness, or those who cannot climb on account of a tickling sensation; in *drawing* the innumerable stigmata of unconscious influences, perhaps also those drawings on the blotting-pad, apparently meaningless flourishes and hooks; in the history class the fanaticism for Napoleon or Bismarck, etc. Let it suffice that in every class, and without exception, the psycho-analyst finds countless interventions of the unconscious, and usually such of which the knowledge is highly important, indeed indispensable, for the management of those individuals. Or such, again, as either directly inhibit the pupil or symptomatically betray an important inhibition of his energies.

Doubtless I shall be of greater service to you if I pass to the conduct of the pupils apart from the material of instruction. We have anticipated some of this in speaking of all kinds of movements of the pupils during writing. We recall the trembling of the St. Vitus' dance-like gestures of many pupils, and other phenomena which, as is well known, may develop

under certain circumstances into mental epidemics. Unremitting clearing of the throat, coughing and sneezing are often the result of unconscious impulses in which a malady which originally had an organic cause is frequently continued by the unconscious after the cessation of the physical cause, just as a business house bearing the name of a well-known man can after his death pass over to another manager without outsiders noticing it. Nervous tics, twitchings of the eye, nose and mouth muscles, of the arms, legs, neck, etc., are very common among schoolchildren. Now the eyelids may be winked spasmodically, now the upper lip may be twitched upward as if to express scorn, now the head is shaken as if expressing indignant refusal. What is the meaning of these movements, from which teachers themselves are not altogether free? The pantomime must certainly have a cause, and he who is fortunate can, in exceptional cases, by ordinary observation even during instruction, discover where the shot must strike in order to bring forth the little demon of the tic. Also the passion for discussion often commits itself in this manner.

Much more important for us is the *moral* conduct of the pupils. Here we come to a field which affords psycho-analytic pedagogy its greatest triumphs of a diagnostic and therapeutic nature. For the time being we will leave aside the proof for this assertion; we wish now only to know what kind of facts the analyst deals with. Behind or alongside most of the phenomena so far observed lie moral conflicts of central importance. Of this, however, we may not yet speak. We will therefore present some ethical phenomena, the underlying basis of which is welcome to the analyst.

Why does a pupil love or hate one teacher among others before he hears him speak a word, and without being able to give a reason for his feeling? Why does another pupil despise everyone who acts kindly towards him, whilst loving and admiring those who punish him violently or unjustly? Why is that other pupil, who behaves properly towards everybody

else, so rude to the teacher who has done him no harm, indeed has shown his friendliness, and tries to alienate the sympathy of the class from him? Why do some sit there so gloomily, go indifferently out of the way of all others and shut up their emotions within themselves like a miser, although life without love is continual starvation? Why does one play the clown for a few weeks and then again have "fits of the blues"? Which of the two characters is the true one—or are they both? What compels certain pupils to laugh aloud at the most serious moments, when they feel solemn? Why can some not desist from tormenting animals or destroying useful objects, although they strive against the impulse with all their strength?

Highly important and in an analytic sense interesting are the cases of obsessional lying (mythomania). There is brought to the teacher a child who, in spite of all instruction, rewards and punishment cannot give up telling lies. He distorts the truth even when discovery is certain and nothing is to be gained from the lie. He weeps at night in bed, he prays earnestly for release from his bad habit, but prayer only increases the obsession to lie. That we are dealing with a neurotic child is likewise shown by the circumstance that he suffers an attack of anxiety on the stairs at the house of his pastor, and for a long time does not arrive at his goal, for a child could not invent such a symptom. (Cf. *The Psa. Method*, p. 75.)

Another incorrigible liar, otherwise a good-hearted, generous youth, wets at night between the two mattresses, and in the morning pretends to have no knowledge of it.

Of like importance are the cases of kleptomania for which psychological understanding and consequently proper treatment was entirely lacking, until psychoanalysis solved the riddle in an entirely conclusive and substantiated manner and helped the unfortunate kleptomaniacs out of their trouble. (Cf. *The Psa. Method*, p. 76.)

I would further mention the cases of pathological hatred of brothers and sisters or parents, a particularly striking phenomenon where the hated ones are innocent and well-meaning people; and again the pathological ambition of an otherwise good-natured youth, the crushing feelings of inferiority, which withdraw strength from action, as well as unreasonable ridiculous self-overvaluation. Or the absence of the feeling of satisfaction after honestly performed duty, the sudden loss of interest in friends or other people previously intimate, the turning against members of the opposite sex (misogyny in boys, misandry in girls), the pathological love of boys and girls for members of their own sex (homosexuality in a refined or a coarse form), the multitude of sexual perversions, etc.

In how many character distortions does the initiated note the earthquake-like activity of the unconscious! Everyone who has studied psycho-analysis has recognised with astonishment what an immense number of previously unintelligible deviations from the moral life can be elucidated by analysis.

We see, then, that psycho-analysis has as a task nothing less than the erection of the whole moral existence in those individuals whose healthy development is hindered by the unconscious.

Many knavish tricks and rogueries of the unconscious remain undiscovered by the teacher until the parents inform him and ask his advice. This may perhaps be the case in sleep-walking in its various forms, in the uncommonly widespread anxiety phenomena (for instance, pathological anxiety of fire, thunder, mice, burglars, cats, cows, anxiety of children lest they belong to other parents, fear of becoming mad, or the fear of girls to be wrongly taken for boys). Obsessional phenomena also occur in more than half of all children, perhaps in almost all children, whereby many only notice that they are under the sway of mysterious compulsion when they wish to discontinue some kind of foolish habit, and cannot do so. The so-called ceremonies of gait alone are inconceivably widespread and differentiated. Some

feel the necessity of touching the line of contact of two stones which border the pavement, while others feel the compulsion to avoid it. The alternation of the two phenomena likewise occurs. Many divide the paving-stones in question into two steps, others into three. Many touch the wall with their hands at certain intervals (like Dr. Johnson touching the posts), many count in certain stereotype numbers, etc. Many, on entering their houses, feel impelled to reach the top stair before the outer door closes, and are out of sorts if they do not accomplish their purpose. There would be a great deal to say concerning these obsessions, which fortunately spontaneously disappear in most cases. In bad cases, however, they may pass over to an obsessional neurosis which devastates their whole life.

The unconquerable distaste for certain healthy foods forms a large chapter. The analyst knows that in these seemingly unimportant things there are, too, very important interests at play, and that such phenomena, to which too little attention is paid, have a biological bearing. But we must keep our curiosity in bounds for the time being. Very often we also meet with pupils who are inhibited by their unconscious in their reading or memory work. Hours at a time they brood over half a page with great effort, and cannot comprehend its contents. Incapable teachers consider them lazy, or scold them as dreamers whose minds are not in their work. But how does this help the sick pupil? And what is to be expected of such ignorant and foolish educators who thus merely increase their pupils' troubles?

We will interrupt our enumeration here, although the greatest part of the phenomena under consideration still remains unmentioned and we might lay ourselves open to the charge of partiality without being in a position to defend ourselves against it. But I consider that our aim is attained. We wished to demonstrate that the number of events of importance in which the unconscious reaches over into the conscious mental life is legion, and that this reaching over

not only most strongly influences the pupil's intellect, but may even penetrate to the centre of the moral personality, often to its great detriment.

The impression which this state of affairs must inevitably make on the educator is powerfully strengthened when we consider that the tree planted by the unconscious very often bears fruit in the life of the adult. Many a neurotic trouble which appeared in youth quite insignificant matures in the course of time to a terrible destiny, to life-destroying power, so that in certain circumstances the healing of the juvenile symptom may mean the prevention of terrible suffering in later years.

Even the comparatively small group of our examples has probably awakened in every hearer the impression that psycho-analysis has disclosed the vision of a whole world of new pedagogic problems. This will become perfectly clear when we recall the fact that, behind apparently indifferent affairs, there often lie most important inhibitions. Many a symptom is thus of great significance, like a tiny thread of steam in a boiler, which is a signal of imminent danger. A superficial examination already shows very plainly that a great many of the phenomena noted by us impose a task on the pedagogue. But here we meet with a difficulty which must be briefly discussed.

C.—HELPLESSNESS OF OTHER METHODS IN FACE OF THESE PEDAGOGIC PROBLEMS.

Most of the educational problems disclosed in the preceding pages are entirely incomprehensible to current pedagogics in their psychological aspect, and very many of them resist the present methods with an obstinacy which might almost make the teacher despair if his life happiness depended solely on its healing effects. How often were youths sent to me who, like the woman in the Gospels, had suffered much from many physicians but had obtained no help ! Kindly admonition and instruction had set up their little light here

and there, and when they proved fruitless, the opposite,—the “sermon,” the threat. In other cases sugar-plums had been tried, and when they failed of their effect the youth had been conducted up the long, steep and painful path of punishment. But neither the darkness of the dungeon, nor the smart of the rod had attained their object. Neither praise nor threats had availed in the least. Mothers’ tears remained as ineffectual as fathers’ praise for little victories over the dark impulse. The gymnastics of the will in the sense of Foerster, failed as completely as prayer. The recreant himself admitted the truth of what the pedagogue said concerning the objectionableness of the incriminating action, and all that was to be said of the beauty of virtuous action he had told himself often enough. But what did it avail him to say “You ought to love,” when in the depths there was not the slightest trace of emotion and complete aloofness from other men existed? Or what is the good of a struggle against a vice when the life impulse is directed through unconscious channels into just this one path, and higher compensations are lacking? We know of plenty of people who, in such a situation, were so firmly convinced of their contemptibleness that they committed suicide. We educators should open the prison for the unfortunate captives. But this cannot be done by traditional methods.

Who of us has not often suffered under this impotence? When I glance back over my earlier educational activity, I see among my pupils more than one who was in a medical sense healthy, but who has since perished for lack of help, but whom I could not help because I did not know him and the methods which alone could save him! And is it not most painful to be compelled to say to oneself “A young soul was entrusted to your care, whom you might have saved if your horizon had not been so narrow, your power so limited.”

I see about me boundless misery. We should be experts in things educational. We are consulted on many difficult educational points. We should not

be merely teachers, but also liberators, enlargers of youthful strength and joy, moulders of men in the highest meaning of the term. But, honestly, are we such experts, familiar with the instrument indispensable for this purpose? Many men know more of beetles and mushrooms than of the souls of their pupils, more of the law of the expansion of gases than of the child mind. Can he be called a trained educator who cannot distinguish between an obsessional liar and a morally feeble-minded one? Between a tormentor of animals driven by neurotic compulsion and a similar culprit who has no pitying counter will? It is sad and even unpardonable that so very many professional educators still recommend the reformatory for apparently incorrigible juvenile offenders, against whom parents and teachers are powerless; a place where the inner conflicts are very often only increased, so that the youth leaves the institution in a worse condition than when he entered it. It is a disgrace that many who wage a terrible moral combat against the demon within their breasts, and suffer cruelly from their own defects, are incarcerated with culprits who have no moral reactions, instead of being shown the way out of their distress! Observe unseen the tortures which are reflected on the face of a kleptomaniac in temptation!

Pedagogy has made great progress in regard to mere instruction: in regard to character formation it is still in desperate straits. The customary rewards are regular poison for hundreds of pupils who are languishing in the bonds of the unconscious, and punishment a torture as cruel as it is useless, and against which human feeling must protest. Here, as we shall see, analytic education proves to be most beneficial.

Perhaps it may be objected that the teacher cannot be expected to understand the treatment of diseased minds. I repeat that I am not speaking only of the sick but of those who ordinarily pass for healthy, and for whom no one would advise psychiatric treatment. What interest can the physician have for the extremely ambitious, the Don Juans, people without emotion,

and a thousand other cases of the tyranny of the unconscious?

On further consideration the question arises : Who should treat children who are really ill and inhibited in their moral development? The answer usually is : The physician. Is he really the person best suited for the treatment of those maladies which are rooted in the unconscious? The modern neurological school complain that most physicians, on account of their one-sided physiological and materialistic training and orientation, on account of their total ignorance of mental processes, are usually highly unsuited for the treatment of the so-called psycho-neuroses, *i.e.*, maladies dependent on mental factors. The very name "neurosis" betrays ineptitude, for of injury to the nerves in the immense army of these diseases we know as good as nothing. The frequency of so-called waste material in these diseases may indeed be pointed out, but it is forgotten that thereby nothing is said of the cause of the trouble. A perfectly sound athlete who becomes tired from performing on the horizontal bar also carries fatigue products in his own muscles, but no one would postulate a chemical disease as the cause of his fatigue. The physician, therefore, usually seeks to cure his neurotic patients principally by physiological means : rest, fresh air, milk, etc.

Occasionally, indeed, such factors suffice, particularly when the new environment is felt to be pleasing to the mind. But how often is the illness only palliated, how often is merely a temporary bridge thrown over the swamp instead of the swamp having been drained ! How often does the original trouble, or another one, return ! Or when it is not to be detected physically, how often does a later psychological investigation show that the moral development (in the broadest sense) remains grievously injured by the same inhibition which formerly produced the physical symptom.

It is precisely in our capacity as educators that we have the right and the duty to protest against such a treatment of mental difficulties and moral obstructions.

If only a mere physical anomaly is present, then we shall not interfere with the work of the physician, to whom we are so greatly indebted in physiological matters. But if it is a matter of certain physical and psychical abnormalities of an educational nature, we are in duty bound to enter upon the task, not simply to hand it over to others who are perhaps far worse prepared and less capable of doing it than we. With thousands of physical difficulties the mental conflict occasioning the trouble is much more important and pregnant with fateful results than the physical factors, and who is to help to adjust these if not the educator? If the physician as educator concurs with us (and fortunately the modern neurologist does so), then he will often be able to do nothing more than what the specifically trained expert educator does. The greater advantage of the physician is in the diagnosis and the suitable consideration of physical processes, which are not directly connected with educational work, but still find consideration, just as every teacher also pays attention to the physical condition of his pupils. Further, the psychiatrist more readily perceives the character of new phenomena, recognises certain dangers more easily, and is less readily alarmed. Obviously, serious and dangerous illnesses should be treated by psychiatrists only. But the pre-eminently more important part of the therapy, even for the physician, is of a pedagogic nature. And in educational affairs we pedagogues are at least his equals.

A conscientious educator will undertake the treatment of sick pupils only by arrangement with a skilled physician and under his constant supervision. Otherwise evil results might occur. A large number of the pupils in need of analysis are not—it must be emphasised — ill in the medical sense of the term. And such youthful material alone forms an immense field for analytic education. We shall return to this later.

The result of our survey is that pedagogy, if it does not wish to neglect an extraordinarily large part of its

duties, must take up psycho-analysis as an educational method. Already in the field of instruction, and still more in that of its disciplinary mission, it stands perplexed and helpless before thousands of phenomena of important nature which no outside psychology ventures to attack, because none is in a position to meddle with the unconscious ruling in this phenomena.

If the claims of pedanalysis are founded on facts, and if the brilliant results which its representatives claim to have obtained are to be viewed neither as mistakes nor deception, then a pedagogy which boasts of universality and wishes to be free from senile ossification or feeble faith in authority, can no longer refuse to make at least a theoretical acquaintance with psycho-analysis.

II.

THE SCIENTIFIC JUSTIFICATION AND DEMAND FOR ANALYTIC EDUCATION.

A.—THEORY OF THE REPRESSION.

Though we feel ourselves compelled to consider the utilisation of psycho-analytic education (pedanalysis) as the duty of every educator, we are fully conscious of the extraordinary boldness of this step. We demand nothing less than that the educator who has been so far entirely limited to the realms of consciousness, should descend into the underworld of the unconscious, at first merely as observer, but perhaps later also as an active personality. In order to retain your interest in the subject, it is proper to bring forward evidence that this underworld actually exists and is not merely a psychological myth. It is proper, further, to furnish the proof that this descent to Avernus beyond the gates of the unconscious can disclose the secret of the psychical underworld and is under certain conditions healthy, indeed necessary. Otherwise we might be compared with the diver who, consecrated to death, boldly leaped into the abyss of Charybdis, with the warning cry :

“There below it is horrible :
Let not Man tempt the gods,
Nor desire ever to behold
What they mercifully cover with night and dread.”

We shall have to determine whether the method which we have sketched as the psycho-analytic has an educational value for the phenomena we have described, together with countless related problems at which we have only been able to hint.

I cannot undertake to develop inductively before you the scientific results of psycho-analysis which, as the foundation of recent investigations and discoveries, have brilliantly stood the test of examination. You will find a careful and convincing presentation, and at the same time an introduction to the whole analytic practice in my book: "The Psycho-analytic Method."* Hence in the following discussion I shall merely sketch the outlines, and present in a new light some related material which was not known to me, or only insufficiently, earlier.

1. *The fact of an unconscious creative mental activity.*

When we ask a school psychologist why he denies the unconscious activity asserted by us, he does not meddle with the facts produced by us, as has been attested by extensive experience. For such learned persons facts are too dangerous things; into this field they do not venture. They prefer to quote us a passage from their catechism which runs: "Consciousness is the sole characteristic of the psychic," from which, of course, it necessarily follows that there can be no unconscious mental activity.

This argument, to which constant appeal is made by every Tom, Dick and Harry, cannot fail to create a deep impression in the present age of psychological dogmatism. On closer consideration it is seen to be not a whit better than the deduction: "Fish live in the water, hence there can be no flying fishes." If psychology had not spilt the inkwell over its map and totally hidden by far the greatest, most fruitful and most interesting part of its field, had it not limited itself to experimental elementary psychology on the one hand, and the study of the crowd on the other, and struck from its curriculum the affairs of the mind as a whole, it would have long since advanced beyond such juggling with terms.

* Moffat, Yard & Co., New York. 1917,

If we consult the facts they show us that beyond consciousness (by which we understand something referring to the *ego* as subjective object of experience) there are processes which correspond exactly in every respect to those of conscious mental life, except that they are not present in consciousness. When a poet has meditated long over a subject without attaining the desired goal, so that he finally dismisses it from his mind in disgust, and one day it suddenly appears before his eyes in tangible distinctness and surpassing beauty, has not a mental process taken place in the meantime? Or when an artist revolves within himself for weeks at a time an outline sketch without any other result than a tired brain, until he kicks the plan out of the house, and some time later the composition which had been sought for with such effort smiles upon him like a child playing at hide-and-seek, has not a mental process occurred between the moment of renunciation of execution of the plan and the appearance of the work of art executed according to plan? Or has Chance built the beautiful structure?

Probably all great poets and students of humanity are aware of this state of affairs; only the academic psychologists know nothing about it. We recall that Freud, like Jouet, Breuer and others, first recognised in hysterical phenomena the rule of mental directing forces behind the curtain of consciousness, and later in a series of experiences with both sick and healthy persons. I cannot conceive how a person who takes the modest trouble to test the results asserted by Freud, can by the exercise of a little ordinary skill fail to find them confirmed. But just as little can I understand how a genuine investigator who does not personally test these things dare hazard an opinion regarding Freud and the school of thought established by him. And yet hundreds of academic psychologists display this unscientific professional impertinence.

No scientific criticism can be directed against the working method which compelled Freud to this assumption of an active (creative) unconscious. He looked for the simplest explanation. From a large

number of harmonising cases he derived conclusions concerning the general form of those processes. These preliminary assumptions or hypotheses he found confirmed in the further course of his investigations and raised them to the rank of laws. If he encountered cases in which the earlier generalization did not hold good, he retracted it. Freud's material for observation grew in the course of decades to an enormous extent. In thousands and tens of thousands of cases it was proved that in hysteria and obsessional neurosis, in pathological anxiety or lapses, in dreams and similar manifestations, mental forces were ruling of which, or of the participation of which, in those phenomena consciousness knew nothing. And indeed, they are complicated inventive processes, the results of which appear as manifestations.

We will take a simple example. A pastor experiences during a marriage ceremony an automatism in his right arm. While reading the words: "Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave unto his wife" he feels a tickling sensation in his hand: the hand turns, moved by an unknown power. At the same time, however, it is drawn back; it seems to him that it will drop.

The explanation of this was found in great part by the intelligent analytic subject himself. He had had three analytic sittings. The automatic movement gave the impression of a conflict; the turning of the hand corresponded to the gesture of shaking hands; a counter movement drew the arm back and downwards. The cause of the whole phenomenon was the mention of the leaving of father and mother, and of marriage. Both, as the analysis revealed, are problems of the young man himself, who is entirely attached to his parents, who suffers from melancholia (and, for example, before the first consultation, wandered about the city for two hours, hesitating between the alternatives of throwing himself into the lake or of seeking me). The decision came from the consideration: "If I jump into the lake I cannot go to the analyst, but if I visit him first the lake is still open to me after-

wards." Fortunately, calm appeared immediately. The bride whose marriage he was now solemnising had given him gentle hints before her engagement that she would not look unkindly upon an engagement with him. He, however, although he esteemed her highly and appreciated her worth, could not bring himself to love her.

Thus the automatism says: "You, too, should leave father and mother and extend your hand to a woman, cleave to her; an inner power, however, pulls you back from this action."

With this explanation the dreams and conduct of the man are in harmony: he sees the desirable way, but is left in the lurch by the absence of the necessary emotions.

What, then, is unconscious in the automatism described? At the moment of its appearance, at all events, the wish for separation from his parents and the contracting of a marriage, even though this wish had several times been confirmed by reason. The symbolical and motor expression of the wish and counter wish is also entirely unconscious. Completely in the unconscious lie the springs of this opposition to the wish for the establishment of a family, something which is obviously expedient for him and full of promise for health and happiness. Our analytic subject knew a great deal in favour of such a life union and nothing against it. And yet there existed a renitence of emotion; indeed, a decisive counter will. Even our little analysis does not solve this enigma. The practised analyst will therefore not be surprised when I disclose the fact that our young man constantly sees himself caressed in his dreams by elderly housekeepers, obvious mother substitutes, and giving rein to vengeful ideas against his father. That such an "Oedipus" has no command over his emotions cannot surprise the experienced.

Thus we can assert: Between the conscious wish for marriage of our analytic subject, as well as the unconscious counter wish on the one hand and the automatic movement during the wedding ceremony on

the other, is a gap which we must necessarily conceive of as filled by a poetic, symbolising activity which chooses the mimic *form* of expression and is unknown to the acting subject, *i.e.*, is unconscious. It is not merely a matter of unconscious "determining tendencies" as Ach discovered them. The plan may in similar cases have been conscious, but its execution occurred in the unconscious.

Often the structure which emerges in consciousness is without meaning in itself or in the given situation, and is cut off from the threads connecting it with other contents that disclose its meaning. For instance: A young man under my care was tormented for some days by the association, "War has broken out." "What folly!" he said to himself, "the war has been going on for nearly two years; why this obvious thought running constantly in my mind?" I led him to the associations of the idea, and he recalled the following facts: "At the outbreak of the war I was at L. with a lady cousin. Upon the appearance of the obsessional idea I always feel that I have a great duty to perform which I have not yet fulfilled. I feel a reproach. When I was small I saw great poverty about me, wished to console and help, but could do nothing. I was always afraid that something would happen and that I should not be able to help. I was always in strife between materialism and idealism. I was always unfortunate in the formulation and attainment of my ideal, but fortunate in love. As a student I won the love of an unhappily married woman, who asserted that she could not live without me. I had a fearful struggle whether I should accept her and betray her husband in order to save the suffering lady. I immediately left that city. The other day, in the train, I made the acquaintance of a young lady who was likewise unhappily married and invited me to her house. I love my fiancée intensely, but cannot break with this lady. So I am quite irresolute."

In explanation it should be stated that the fiancée is another cousin at L. How shall we interpret the

haunting thought? It is not the external war of which the association would speak: *that* war had broken out almost two years previously. Rather, an inner conflict had arisen which caused much commotion: an affection which came in conflict with conscience and love for the fiancée. Let us attempt to reveal the associations in this theme. The cousin in L. belongs to a conscious idea connected with the phrase, because the analytic subject was in her vicinity at the outbreak of the world war. She leads over, however, to the inner conflict, as she is also a cousin at L., like the fiancée, who represents one party in the inner conflict. "I always feel upon the appearance of the obsessional idea that I have a great duty to perform which I have not yet fulfilled." Quite right: he has not yet fought out the moral fight, not yet relinquished the rival of his betrothed. Hence he also feels a reproach which is perfectly justified. "When I was small, I saw great poverty about me; I wanted to console and help, but could do nothing; I was always afraid that something would happen and that I might not be able to help." And now, too, he might fall into an improper affair without being able to help the unhappy one. "I was always in strife between materialism and idealism." As now in strife between sensuality and duty. "I never succeeded in attaining my ideal" expresses the moral defeat. The subsequent memory of his experience in a city which he left in order to avoid a similar conflict is a sign, on the other hand, that the present decision was motivated by the conscious. The inner state of affairs which is expressed in the last sentence, "I love my fiancée, but cannot break with her rival," thus corresponds exactly to the mental state of affairs. The analytic subject is very irresolute, and elaborates his problem in the obsessional idea, "War has broken out," which merely expresses the beginning of the inner struggle, but does not contribute in the slightest to his decision.

Thus the real meaning of the obsession is here unconscious, as likewise its relation to inner affairs

of erotic nature : further, the poetic disguise of the painful facts in the banal phrase "War has broken out"; and finally the amalgamation of the historic external phrase with the feelings of omission of duty or of reproof. The unconscious mental structure is thus also plainly demonstrated in this example. The analysis immediately led to moral decision and elimination of the obsessional thought.

We meet with hundreds of such examples. Those who are so blind as not to be able to see them can read in my book of a great number of similar cases, in order to have at least a modest substitute for a variety of personal observations.

The most important characteristic of the higher mental life, methodical creation, is never missing, even though no trace of this creative mental action is to be detected in consciousness. Unconscious motives can be inferred with at least the same certainty as the conscious motives of another person. The psychoanalyst is in this respect no bolder than any historian, connoisseur of art, judge or other man who seeks the motives of other people. If by consciousness we understand, with Wundt, "the connection of simultaneous and successive processes," then the unconscious processes are also conscious, for they belong internally to each other. But in as far as we understand by "conscious" the reference to the experienced and experiencing *ego*,—and this is usually the case—we may assign those acts to the unconscious.

If the dogmatists of the psychological world try to bottle the consideration of the facts the dictatorial equation "psychic=conscious," an unprejudiced observer will not allow himself to be embarrassed by so feeble an argument. As one opponent replied to the fine Genevese theologist G. Fulliquet: "The subconscious is a dim light," he answered wittily: "Certainly, but it is a light." By this appeal to the ultra-violet he overthrew the opponent whose ordinary conception of light had made him blind to the facts.

2. *The fact of a repression.*

It would be a misunderstanding of the task of

psycho-analysis to declare its duty to be the searching out of everything submerged below the surface of consciousness, for it could never perform such a diver's work. It would be compelled to make memory infallible, and that is impossible. Further, the innate predispositions as such, although they are unconscious, or any possible psychic symptoms accompanying sensory phenomena which, on account of their slight intensity, have not yet led to sensations, psycho-analysis does not approach. Rather has it to do only with such as—in spite of their immense importance for the individual—escape his consciousness, having been repressed by other and still more powerful ones, or crowded back at the moment of their emergence into consciousness.

It is well known that a selection takes place within our sensations. We cannot simultaneously pour an unlimited number of sensations into the narrow vessel of our attention, or we should become confused and our spirit would be annihilated by the superabundance. Hence in hearing and seeing we ignore the greatest part of our sensations. Already here a certain repression doubtless occurs. This process can be compared with the measures adopted at a frontier. From the crowd of travellers who desire to cross over into a new country a small company is at first investigated in the passport office, and dubious individuals in the group are refused entry. I must reckon with the fact that you will treat the thoughts I am presenting to you in the same manner. If I send too many ideas at a time into the passport office of your mind, I am afraid you will drive out the whole lot. If I say things which do not fit in with your experience, or which are entirely strange to you, either you will not consider them at all or you will immediately forget them, unless I have the misfortune to come into conflict with your vital interests and incur your anger. Certainly, some of you will accept and carry away some of my views, which others will say they have not heard at all.

This principle of selection, which occurs not only in perception, but also in thinking, emotion, volition and memory, has been named *lex parsimoniæ*, economy of effort. Nothing forbids the conception that the conscious is thereby to be spared useless ballast or confusing abundance, in order that energy may be concentrated upon what is valuable for it.

There are also cases in which it would be a mistake to consider such economy of effort merely as the repelling frontier sentinel. There is likewise the saving of the conscious from pain, but at the same time momentous interests of the personality,—the moral balance, the clear conscience, the religious faith—come to the fore. The assertion that in such cases elimination of some conscious contents is a matter of sparing discomfort or pain is entirely correct, but this expresses only the formal aspect of the case.

Another equally pertinent conception would be: The protection of the personality, the fortifying of ethical self-preservation, the maintenance of the highest mental interests. The high biological and ethical significance of this exclusion from the conscious is obvious, and it is at once seen that the repulsion from the mental horizon of morally disapproved ideas is a demonstration of the dynamic superiority of the moral material.

When it is a question of a trivial conflict, the exclusion from consciousness is not rigorous and final. Rejected characteristics of an object of perception may be recognised the next moment without outside help. Where, on the other hand, powerful forces have occasioned the repression from consciousness, or, in brief, the *repression*, the re-introduction into consciousness is often accompanied by great difficulties. Freud uses a practical distinction when he differentiates repressed material which needs only a somewhat stronger investment of energy in order to get into consciousness from deeply repressed material. The name of *foreconsciousness* is a well-chosen one. Nevertheless, I must consider the foreconscious as part of the unconscious, because it is not present in

the empirical consciousness, whereas Freud denotes as such only the deeply repressed material. For me the foreconscious and the unconscious are merely differentiated from each other in degree, though I recognise infinite degrees of repression within the deep recesses of the mind, which Freud groups under the name of the unconscious. These problems, which are of great importance to the theory of psycho-analysis, we need not treat further in this place.

It may be easily demonstrated that certain contents of consciousness may be removed from the memory or kept at a distance from it by strong counter motives. Some time ago a soldier told me of his war experience. He reported the storming of the enemy's line. He could vividly recall everything that happened up to the very height of the engagement, and here the thread of memory snapped. He could still recall how his bayonet broke, and how he grabbed in his pocket and boot to bring out revolver and knife. Then, however, a complete lapse of memory occurred. The next event which he could call to mind was the astonishment that no more enemies stood before him. The very dim recollection that he must have struggled with many enemies came back only gradually. But his memory did not allow him to state this with certainty. External circumstances made it certain that he had fought grimly, but his memory knew nothing sure and clear of this combat. The reason is obvious: his conscience fought against the horrible recollection of the killing of men.

We shall only admit repression after we have demonstrated them by a collection of well-observed cases.

3. *The forces participating in the repression.*

A repression presupposes that two ideas or tendencies bear a relation of absolute or relative incompatibility to each other. It is always a product of conflict. Mild eliminations from consciousness are observed in all kinds of conflicts. Where it is a question of conflict between duty and inclination, or of avoidance of pain, now the one, now the other combatant is victorious.

I know a minister who, during twenty years of official life, forgot a baptism once only, and on an occasion which had a particular significance for him. It concerned an influential family who were strongly inclined to go over to a certain sect. The pastor had taken pains in his sermon on baptism to emphasise as much as possible the beauty and value of the church idea of baptism, its social and idealistic worth, its purely human beauty. And then, to his subsequent dismay, occurred the unfortunate incident, his complete forgetfulness of the appointment. Only an hour too late, when the child had been baptised by the minister of the other sect, did he become aware of his sin of omission. A short, it is true superficial, analysis disclosed no other motive than the one that contact with that family was uncommonly disagreeable to him. The feeling of duty which was fully affirmed by consciousness had been overcome by the consciously rejected laziness. This applies, however, only to mild eliminations from consciousness, which are easily discovered.

Where a repression of high degree occurs, a very disagreeable conflict of motives must be present. Here Freud's keen vision has made an important discovery. The strongest repressions chiefly occur when a morally disapproved-of wish-impulse has come into conflict with the ethical and esthetic demands of the personality and been excluded from consciousness. (Freud: *Lectures on Psycho-analysis*, p. 20.) The victory on the field of battle of consciousness was won by that motive which had been affirmed by the moral or esthetic (and, we may add, religious) personality. Even when a newly apparent immoral motive causes the repression, that motive will be repressed and not, as one might suppose, the moral consciousness. Does not this fact testify to the primacy of moral forces in the economy of the human mind? And in the disclosure of this state of things does not Freud's psychology—which many malicious and uncomprehending opponents never tire of seeking to discredit as a cynical philosophy—does it not support and help the cause of ethical idealism? Does not

this anthropological demonstration of the superiority of the ethical in the repression process harmonise with the goal of psycho-analytic education set up by us, namely, that of again making available the forces withdrawn by repression from the mastery of the moral will?

The repression process takes a different form under circumstances when a wish-impulse comes into collision with external forces and reacts to them in such a manner that it does not develop further. There, too, under certain circumstances, the morally objectionable impulse may succumb to the harsh prohibition of the environment in such a manner that it not only yields to the demands of the environment and treats them with respect, but is even eliminated from consciousness altogether. Frequently, however, it happens that wishes which are healthy and laudable in themselves and of high moral justification, are shattered on the walls of a foolish egoistic environment and disappear into the unconscious. A tender child, who seeks to be understood and would like to communicate its feelings, who thirsts for freer movement and makes a just demand for a little recognition, can be intimidated by harsh and ignorant parents who show their child no interest, allow it no freedom, and mortify it by ridicule and depreciation of its achievement, in such a way that those beautiful wish-impulses directed towards its parents may be lost to consciousness and consequently become repressed. Here the mental tendencies of greater moral value are sacrificed to the brutality, the lack of affection, the narrow-mindedness and the egoism of the environment. And since the first teachers create the pattern by which the child, and later the adult as well, is accustomed to measure his fellow-men, the higher moral impulse may later on surrender to the actual or supposititious environment, and wander in exile. What the results are we shall see later. For the present we would merely point out that the word *kränken*, "mortify," which denotes nothing more than the creation of an unpleasant reaction to the

environment, really means *krank machen*, "to make sick," and expresses a deep life impression. Many persons are sick because they have been mortified beyond bearing.

A familiar simile may illustrate repression. A pike was introduced into a bowl of carp, with a stout glass well separating the robber from his succulent neighbours. The robber darted eagerly at his intended prey, but was thrown back with a smarting nose. A second attack was turned aside still more painfully. From that time further aggressions ceased, even after the removal of the glass wall. In like manner, the instinctive impulses which have been forced back too painfully never venture forth again, they remain entirely unconscious, *i.e.*, repressed.

Our task consequently consists in imparting information regarding the wish-impulses which are buried in the tomb of the unconscious, and the ideas and emotions so closely connected with these impulses. In doing this I would gladly have referred to the results of traditional psychology. But in its text-books we find almost nothing that can be of any use regarding the desires except the continual complaint that we know hardly anything useful about them. (Cf. Witasek, *Grundlinien der Psychologie*, p. 349.) By "we," of course, the academic psychologists are to be understood. I cannot find in the text-books before me even an orderly classification of the various instincts, except the insufficient division of Kirchner into physical, intellectual, esthetic, egoistic and social instincts.

When we enquire what instinctive tendencies are banished from the conscious, we must particularly bear in mind a circumstance which is of extraordinary significance for the life of instinct. The instincts are not separate elementary forces, by the interaction of which life is built up. Rather is the one life differentiated in various directions; it supplies energies for this or that end, and elaborates organs for this or that function. The instincts are no more independent and originally separated psychic realities than the arms,

legs, lobes of the lungs, heart ventricles and other organs are responsible for the creation of the living human body. One must therefore be very cautious when considering a certain function or group of functions by itself, or when giving it the name of an instinct, that one does not tear apart something which is a whole. Obviously it is useful to consider the expression of a life impulse directed towards a certain life function as something by itself, but it must be remembered that in so doing we are dealing with an abstraction. Reality knows no isolated instinctive activities. The hunger instinct is most intimately bound up with esthetic values, the sexual instinct with the need for self-assertion, the demand for freedom with sympathy, etc. The so-called lower instincts may form most intimate connections with the highest ones. One instinctive function may appear for another. Ardent love may suppress the spirit of hoarding and make the miser a spendthrift; and inversely, where the emotional values disappear, the life impulse may devote itself to material accumulation—a fact of immense social and ethical importance. Therefore it is absolutely impossible to understand the processes within the domain of one instinct, for instance, the love-life, without taking into consideration the whole individual.

I demand therefore a psychological method of investigation which considers every instinctive impulse in relation to all the other life functions and the whole mental organism, and this I accordingly call the organic method. The circumstance that such a consideration has been omitted in psycho-analytic circles has led to a great deal of confusion. It must in justice be admitted, however, that the one-sided way of looking at things which historically was very comprehensible has yielded good results; it often happens that an error can turn out profitable in the end.

Possessing this organic principle, we may now proceed to the investigation of the individual repressed instinct. In so doing we are forced to abandon systematic work.

It is easier to isolate certain instinctive functions which serve to preserve animal life: hunger-, respiratory-, motor-, rest-, sleep-instincts, and the like. It is not to be denied that (possibly with the exception of the respiratory instinct) they can be repressed, but only to a moderate degree. In deep sorrow the appetite may disappear, in mental depression the breathing is weaker, after violent emotion the desire of movement may be lost for hours at a time. We read, for example, in *Esra IX.*, 3 and 5: "And when I heard this thing I rent my garment and my mantle, and plucked off the hair of my head and of my beard, and sat down astonished . . . until the evening sacrifice. And at the evening sacrifice I arose up from my heaviness: and having rent my garment and mantle, I fell upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto the Lord my God."

But the repression is not a deep one. Usually the complete repression does not last long; the instinct soon expresses itself again, at least in a moderate degree. The repression extends only as far as the subliminal.

On the other hand particular expressions of these instincts may undergo a more severe repression. An example instructive for teachers is the following: Since her eleventh year a young female patient, aged 25 (hysteria with many obsessional phenomena), could no longer eat vinegar, nor even smell it, whereas formerly she was exceedingly fond of salad. The aversion from salad continued until the analysis. The lady became nauseated when she smelt it.

Analysis: (Vinegar) "It makes me ill. Once it was forbidden me when I had to take iron pills for a short time." (Vinegar) "I cannot conceive of it tasting good. It burns. It excites me fearfully to think that they gave the crucified Jesus vinegar to drink. I could hardly get it down. Formerly I liked vinegar like cake." (Vinegar) "Once we went on an excursion to O. and ate salad which was prepared almost entirely of oil. I could hardly swallow it. It was shortly before beginning the treatment with iron pills.

From that time I could swallow salad at best only with lemon. (The excursion) "On that excursion I was horribly lonesome. My two sisters (considerably older) had male companions; I had no one. They were very happy, I was lonesome. I scarcely knew where I should go, since each of the loving couples wished to be alone. I had always to be going on ahead and looking for flowers. In O., where we had been invited, I took a great deal of salad on my plate, and dared not leave it there. Perhaps I, too, was yearning for love. I was very lonely. I have the same feeling when I have trouble with my husband, or when I think he loves me only for the sake of my body." After the analytic interview which had already eliminated the prohibition to eat, the lady reflected about the excursion, and remembered the following: "One of those present wished to protest against the lack of vinegar, but others prevented it, however, in order not to embarrass the host. During the discussion the joke was made that 'Vinegar belongs to oil, like husband to wife.' I said, 'Then I need no vinegar, for I don't want a husband.' Finally, the others obtained vinegar, but I did not take any. At that time I often said to myself, 'I cannot bear the odour of men.'"

Here, then, the appetite for a favourite food had been repressed. We see, however, at the same time, with how much justice we warned against wishing to study one instinct by itself. For the repression really belongs not all to the vinegar, but to the wish for men which was joined to it by associations; hence an erotic wish. The appetite for food had been dragged into the depths at a certain point by the erotic instinct.

And this brings us to the enquiry concerning the rôle of the *sexual and erotic* in repression. You know, gentlemen, that nothing has brought upon psycho-analysis so much criticism as the position which Freud has assigned to sexuality within the unconscious mental life, *i.e.*, among the repressed instincts. It required an unheard-of courage and devotion to truth on his part boldly to announce his scientific convictions at

a time which had a horror of sexuality, or rather of the open discussion of sexuality. Freud knew perfectly well what an outbreak of fury he would bring upon himself by so doing, and that he would expose his other achievement to the hatred directed against his sexual theory. That he nevertheless paid honour to the truth as he understood it is a manly deed, by the side of which his furious opponents with all their calumny and distortion show themselves in all their miserable pettiness.

What did Freud really assert? That Man is merely a sexual being and all his actions may be explained by his sexuality alone? Decidedly not! On the contrary, he emphasised as strongly as possible that the *ego* instincts are opposed to the sexual instincts. (The *Psa. Method*, p. 63, 140, 546.) One may raise objections against this distinction founded on practical grounds, but it can nevermore be maintained that this does not confute the reproach of pansexualism. Nothing can prevent us from considering the number of the *ego*-instincts as being very great, and their distinguishing characteristics as being immensely superior to those of the sexual instincts.

If, then, the extent of the sexual performances is, according to Freud, much more circumscribed than certain opponents ascribe to him, there immediately follows a second and not less incisive correction to the objections of the opposition.

When Freud speaks of sexuality he understands thereby something quite different from the ordinary connotation of the word. He expresses himself thus: "We also ascribe to the sexual life all the manifestations of tender emotions which have sprung from the source of the primitive sexual impulses, even when these impulses have undergone an inhibition of their original sexual aim, or have exchanged their goal for another which is no longer sexual. We prefer, therefore, to speak of psycho-sexuality and to lay stress on the point that one must not overlook and under-value the mental factor. We use the word 'sexuality' in

the same comprehensive sense in which the German language employs the word 'love.'"

Is it, after all, such a monstrous idea that inhibition of love may make the personality ill? Does not love extend to the centre of the personality? Love brings man and woman together, it forms the most important driving power in the care and education of children, it is for youth and maiden what the attributes of the Babylonian goddess of love so beautifully expresses: "Panther and morning star; profane love: the beast of prey, sacred love: the light of promise." Love qualifies parents for the greatest sacrifices. It gives life to poetry and animates many of the most masterly creations in epic, lyric and drama; it inspires and enraptures the artist to noble creations; it is the muse of many a sculptor and architect. A musician like Gounod expressed his philosophy of art and life in the saying: "The law of life, like the law of art, is inscribed in the words of St. Augustine: 'Love is all.'" Even Jesus summed up the law and the prophets in his fundamental command of love.

To this we may add observations which everyone can make. How often do we see people break down and fall into melancholy on account of unhappy love? How often does happy love turn a melancholy into a cheerful man? He who has to deal with neurotics must be struck with blindness if he does not notice that their relations to their fellow men are bad in many ways. The officious amiability which proclaims their pretended vast kingdom of love in their smile and their speech loaded with emotion, while no real love is present; the blazing of emotions to-day which on the morrow are dissolved by chilly indifference;—who has not observed these evidences of false love in hysterical people? Or the seclusion from one's fellow men, the inability to love them, even with honest will to include them in one's heart with warm emotions; who has not noticed this two-phased deficiency of love in melancholy or introverted individuals (those shut up within themselves)? In the case of hundreds and thousands of neurotics one recognises

immediately that their love-life has been exposed to severe inhibitions, while for the rest no particular evil influence had affected them, nor had a love which was present been destroyed. To me it is inconceivable that there should be people who deny in neurosis the existence of repressions within the love-sphere.

If Freud had been correctly understood probably the waves of excitement would not have risen so high. But now it is objected that, by incorporating love in sexuality, Freud sexualises the former. I shall not attempt to defend Freud's nomenclature, but is it justifiable to make so much commotion over a word? The thing itself is the point. First, let us repeat once again most emphatically that Freud's definition of sexuality is widely different from the popular usage. In love there are esthetic and ethical values; if the proverb is true, even the sense of taste contributes to love, at least in man ("The way to a man's heart is through his stomach.") Freud does not dispute this. He merely assumes that it is not this esthetic-ethical satisfaction, and not the gastronomic pleasure that constitute the real kernel of love, but sexuality. This is the real stumbling block. Sexuality is said to be present in the highest manifestations of morality and religion: this it is which has awakened against Freud the reproach of the basest naturalism.

I believe I can appreciate the earnestness of moral purpose which sometimes takes up the cudgels against naturalism. As ethicist, I consider it my duty to combat with all my might against a naturalism which degrades Man to the level of the beasts, and scoffs at the heights of ethical idealism. A life dominated solely or in the main by sexual demands would be as disgusting and wanton to me as, I hope, to you all. But he who has moral earnestness will guard against unjustified reproaches and on no account distort the facts. The question of the rôle of sexuality is a psychological one, hence a question of fact, and neither the wish of the ascetic that sexuality may have no influence at all on life, nor the opposite one of the cynic, can have any value as psychological opinions.

Only by painstaking and rigorous investigation can a cautious judgment be formed, and he who passes judgment—whether favourable or not—without these investigations, does not deserve to be taken seriously.

Now how do the facts stand? Do sexual influences extend as far as the general altruistic and religious regions of the mind? I mention in passing that one group of psychologists trace back *all* emotions to sensations, *i.e.*, either to vascular innervations (Lange) or muscular innervations (James), so that even the highest religious and moral emotions would not be conceivable without a sensual, though asexual character. I do not at all share this view, but how can I deny an organic-sensual resonance of the higher emotions, as Dürr calls it? For myself, the analyses of mentally superior persons who suffered from an incipient paralysis of the emotions, are entirely convincing. They longed for strong feelings for other people, for God, for idealistic activities, but were unable to produce love, inspiration or joy, and dragged themselves unconsolated through the barren waste of their intellectualism. This abstract longing of theirs makes their distress only the greater. Whence comes this drying-up and failure of the emotional values? An analytic patient expressed it very characteristically in the following phantasy: "I see myself like a small child lying down; from my body fire rises, but it is immediately extinguished on all sides." Thus it was in his whole childhood. His instincts were actually constantly repressed, not ennobled. The higher emotional values, however, are built up on the elementary ones, even if one considers the former to be something more than merely developed elementary emotions. Obviously the child has in general at first no other than sensual sensations, emotions and instincts. Morality and religion stand to these in about the same relations as the underground foundations to a house. To the ground-walls much must be added in order to make a house, but without the foundations, which are so often overlooked by the observer of the finished house, the whole could not have been

erected. In order to create the freshness of a life filled with emotion for those poor in emotions whom intellectualism has disgusted, I have always been compelled to excavate the elementary emotions which had been buried during childhood.

The fact that he can raise elementary emotions to high mental achievements proves that Man is strongly differentiated from the brute, that he is also a spiritual being.

I must confess that this conviction came as a surprise to me; I trust that this is not the case with you too. It was only later that I found that Pestalozzi, in this case as in so many others, had anticipated some important truths of psycho-analysis. This is proved by the following passage which I take from an essay on education published in 1782 in his "Schweizerblatt": "Man's first needs are physical and sensual, and it is the ministration to these bodily and sensual needs which makes the first formative impression on the child in his earthly existence, *i.e.*, it is the foundation of his education, and the primary development of his strength and character is based on it." (Selected works, published by Mann, 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 39.) "Thus his bodily needs are the basis of his strength; they lead him simply and directly to the double foundation of all true human wisdom and virtue, namely, gratitude and love, on which all human morality is based." (Idem.) "The progress of morality in Man is nothing more than the extension and broadening down, the finer development, the exhilaration and determination of the feelings of gratitude and love which are felt already by the satisfied, invigorated and tenderly nursed infant in arms." (40) (A similar statement is made by the philanthropist Campe in his "Theophron," pp. 148 to 150.)

Direct observation of actual life, too, will prove how right Nietzsche, who is not an analyst but a keen observer of human nature, is when he says: "The degree and kind of the sexuality of a man reaches to the highest point of his mind." (*Jenseits von gut und böse*, 4, p. 75.) The American religious psychologist

Schroeder goes too far in deriving all religion from sexuality, but it is only the ignorant who can deny that sexuality played an important part in the development of the Christian religion.

If, then, we keep the organic point of view before our eyes we shall at once see how preposterous it would be to infer from the provable influence of the elementary instinctive impulses on the highest intellectual achievement the basic sexual character of the latter. Rather can low and brutish instincts lose their original character, so that the psychic energy contained in the elementary impulse may now serve the highest asexual cultural activities. This does not occur when the spirit, to use St. Paul's words, *suppresses* the lusts of the flesh, but when the spirit *commands* the flesh. To present religion, morality, art and the like as sublimated sexuality would be as lacking in taste as to characterise the execution of Beethoven's violin concerto as a refined form of the vibration of catgut.

With these remarks, which are based on researches undertaken in a sceptical spirit and extending over many years, I believe I have corroborated Freud's fundamental principles, even if I employ other expressions. I believe I have made clear that those who maintain that psycho-analysis derives every human effort from sexuality and reduces the huge wealth of the psyche to this, are speaking in opposition to the truth.

And now a word about the part played by sexuality (in the narrower sense) in the genesis of neuroses. Freud formulates the doctrine (as Jones sums it up) that sexual troubles are the *specific* cause of neurosis, but that all kinds of other causes may be at work, from heredity to psychical shock. (Ernest Jones, Professor Janet über Psycho-analyse, Internat. Zschr. f. ärztliche Psycho-analyse, IV., p. 38.) As a specific cause, according to Freud's definition, is to be considered that one in which no case of the realisation of effect (here the neurosis) is missed, and which is sufficient, in corresponding quantity or intensity, to produce the effect, if only the conditions are fulfilled.

(Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, I., p. 108.) And now mark this : According to these clear determinants, sexual trouble must be present in all cases of neurosis, *but other conditions would likewise have to be present* in order to cause a nervous malady.

It was but natural that Freud should turn his attention first and foremost, out of the sum total of such conditions, to the sexual causes of neurosis. They were those which had hitherto been most neglected, and they are those which are most subject to repression. We know, indeed, that not only the ugly sexual manifestations but even those that are recognised as pure are presented to the child as *noli me tangere*, so that millions of adults still consider sexual things as unclean, and put them away consistently from their thoughts as far as they possibly can. Gluttony, fidgets and other impulses are never so rudely banned from the nursery as sexuality is. Many adolescents are ashamed when they discover that they, too, have sexual impulses, and do their best to repress them. Who can deny this fact, which, whether it be conducive to morality or not, gives the sexual impulse a maximum of chances of repression? It was a merit of Freud's which can never be over-estimated, that he brought his intellect to bear on this too frequently neglected domain. Even some of his most violent opponents have openly admitted this. Those pedagogues who do not agree to the dictum as applied to this subject : "No one can make a mistake by being silent," ought surely to have some understanding for Freud's work.

Later critical investigation has proved that love troubles are existent in all neurotic patients. In the case of men, particularly, it has frequently been found that their love has clung to their mothers and thus been subject to repression, while the father has been the object of a secret or a conscious dislike, resulting in that pair of feelings to which Freud has given the name of the Oedipus complex. In the case of female neurotic patients one often meets with the opposite feeling : positive fixation to the father and

negative to the mother. For the time being I beg you merely to keep the fact in mind, and to leave out of the question whether such feelings really arose from childish incestuous impulses, or whether, in harmless tendencies towards the mother instinctive impulses were introduced later which had not found a normal outlet.

Now it is a fact, as Freud points out, that the Oedipus complex is also found in normal people. Why, then, are they not ill? Because the previously mentioned "other conditions" are not present. The Oedipus complex, seeing that the other development was normal, had not received that powerful stress of feeling which conditions nervous disease. We see how excellently organic observation has stood the test.

The reproach which may be levied against Freud is that he always refers to sexual abnormalities only. But even Freud could not do everything at once. It was left to others to look for other inhibitions besides the known sexual ones. Till this work is done it is impossible to determine positively the part played by sexuality in the origin of neurosis. The convulsion of any sphere which is of great importance for the whole personality must re-echo in the region of the love life, because Man is an organism, and if one member suffers the others must suffer in concert. But this does not by any means imply that the inhibitions existing within the sexual sphere are of a *primary* nature, and that the *cause* of the disease must be looked for there. I was able to prove a dozen times that children who had not been allowed freedom of movement and who suffered under a strict system of education, or an over-education which cut off all attempts at independence of mind, accentuated their sexuality without temptation from outside, *i.e.*, turned their vital impulse (*Lebensdrang*) towards it with an excess of feeling. It was a great merit on the part of Adler (which Freud also recognised) to take the child's desire of recognition into consideration, but he is entirely on the wrong track when he attempts to derive all neuroses from the feeling of inferiority

(undervaluation) and from aggression impulses, and actually refers these feelings of inferiority to mere corporal inferiority (organic defects), categorically denying the influence of the sexual on the genesis of neurosis. (Heilen u. Bilden, Reinhardt, München, 1914, p. 102.) It is not to be wondered at that Adler found disturbance of the ego instincts in all neurotic troubles, for every violent check to personality (without which neurosis is impossible) will greatly affect self-appreciation. Adler's great mistake was to leave the organic point of view out of consideration by paying too little attention to the actual team-work of the impulses and by attaching too much importance to his great discovery of the feeling of inferiority. It is absolutely impossible to refer every anomaly of neurosis to early feelings of inferiority. On the other hand, self depreciation is frequently met with in the train of primary love disappointments and impediments to development.

If we wish to know what important items sexuality enters in the bookkeeping of neurotics, the whole amount of the other impulses and instincts must be taken into the balance besides, together with Adler's "feelings of inferiority." We must carefully find out those places within the personality where the equilibrium was first violently disturbed, and how this disturbance has affected other domains of the soul. It goes without saying that this work is much more difficult than a study which is restricted to a single psychical zone, but it is indispensable. An overvaluation of the sexual influence will thus be avoided.

But we must be no less on our guard against *undervaluation*. What I am about to say now rests on my own responsibility. Since the time when Adler and Jung separated from Freud I have given my attention principally to the solution of the question as to how far the causes of mental trouble induced by repression lie in the domain of sexuality, and how far the ever present sexual determinants are to be considered as secondary concomitants of other inhibitions. I attempted to find out, as dispassionately as possible,

where the obstacle to free development first set in. I found out that very often, in cases in which the analytic patient teemed with repressions, only slight sexual causes of these repressions were to be discovered, not stronger than those of most people, but that, perhaps, the whole life of the child had been repressed without organic inferiority or disparagement on the part of others. The sexual calamity was consequently merely secondary, something like the case of the hungry horse who begins to nibble his fellow's tail. But there still remained a terrible number of cases in which violent primary repressions were to be nowhere else than in the sexual domain. In this respect I have little to correct in the statements I made in my book on the *Psycho-analytic Method*.*

It is evident that a protest must be made against limiting analysis to that of sexuality, even if we take the word in the broad connotation given to it by

* Some proofs taken at random. I recollect my three last clients, who came to me as a pastor, without knowing anything of psycho-analysis. One of them was a boy of sixteen in whom I found the following manifestations: This intelligent youth, on waking up, finds the world "black, cloudy, tortured." He has no love for those around him nor any feeling for religion. I asked him, "Did you ever, in your infancy, observe anything in your affective life?" He immediately replied, "At the age of six or eight I suffered terribly under sexual representations (sic!); I tortured a naked little girl and killed her by burning or boiling. Whenever I repelled this representation I had the desire of death or, rather, a representation of what I should be like if I were dead. The more I attempted to repel this thought, the more vividly did it return; I had even a sort of will that it should come back." The second case was that of a lady of 66 years who was attacked by a violent choking sensation when eating, especially boiled or roast meat, even if it were cut into small pieces. She can eat finely hacked meat and sausages without difficulty. She was attacked by this evil about three years ago, when she surprised her husband in the very act of adultery and thus experienced a profound disgust of his unbridled sexuality. Her attitude towards pure forms of sexual life is a healthy and intelligent one. In the third case I had to deal with a young girl of good family. She was well trained in music but, in contradistinction to her brothers and sisters, would not hear religion spoken of and refused to be confirmed. At the age of nineteen she accepted a post in a female orchestra and fell morally very low. From Hamburg she twice implored her well-to-do parents to help her, but spent the money sent her for the journey home for other things. Completely lost, she went to another foreign town, from which I had her brought by the police at the request of her parents. A few days after her arrival, however, she again ran away from home. In her papers a passionate love correspondence with a prostitute was found, with whom our unhappy runaway played the part of lover. Can the importance of sexuality be doubted in such cases? No doubt we cannot precisely determine how far sexuality in the above cases was the cause or the effect. In the first case the primary accessible trouble was found in the brutality of a teacher who excited the class against the naturally timid and blubbering new boy. The removal from other children brought about a profound attachment for his three years' younger sister, which took on a distinct sexual form. In the fixations certain circumstances lived through with her are clearly manifested. The elderly lady, whose hysteric troubles disappeared almost entirely after the first interview, abandoned the continuation of the analysis for the time being. The sexual cause of her trouble is evident. I never saw the young girl again. In the above cases sexuality plays an important part, but not an isolated one.

Freud. Those who insinuate that all neuroses have a sexual cause (which Freud never maintained, though many of his followers do) will naturally find sexual inhibitions every time, because the analytic patient ignores the others. Those who would suggest, with Adler, that nervous sufferings derive from the feeling of inferiority will quickly find a number of representations which point in this direction. But those who remain faithful to the organic point of view and avoid awkwardly influencing their patients, will find plenty of other causes of disturbance side by side with the sexual ones. Yet those which are most frequently found are the bad treatment and the checking of love, together with sexuality in its narrow sense. And the wishes of such as would prefer to ascribe no influence on life to these powers, can change nothing.

4. *The inducements to repression.*

As we prefer to consider those points of psycho-analysis which are subject to misapprehension or debate, we shall not spend much time on the subject of the causes of repression.

Repression may be caused by violent shock or by continuous pressure. A painful deception or loss, an injustice attempted or committed, a fruitless attempt to rise to a higher moral level or to descend to a lower one—in a word, experiences which perturb the personality, frequently provoke considerable repressions. Those who are attacked by such repressions experience the sudden disappearance of certain instinctive movements and the associations connected with them, and it is not impossible that the lacunæ may progressively grow larger.

Others are the prey of repressions through *continued* obstacles and constraints. If parents do not allow their children any liberty of movement and forbid them to play with other children of their age, if they give a negative answer to any wishes expressed by the little ones, if a teacher keeps his pupils in a state of chronic fear, the checked desires finally remain pent up. Tired of being constantly ill-treated

they withdraw into the regions of the Beyond, where they are certainly at first carefully concealed.

People in whom a chronic hindrance to development predominates belong to what I call the *retention type*; those suffering from acute perturbations I call the *repulsion type*. The reason for these names will be explained later. For the time being we may say that the former are the more difficult to free from their repressions. The victims of a continually faulty system of education suffer far greater injury than the victims of a fate which brutally brandishes the stick on isolated occasions only.

Since repression is provoked by an existing psychic conflict, it follows that it is not the events themselves, but the conception of the events which are the determining factors. Reality, as such, never represses. Hence the actual persons, such as the father or teacher, for instance, do not themselves cause repression, but rather the father or teacher *as conceived by the patient*,—and such images are more often than not radically false. It is very important and pleasant for the analyst to be able to make this clear to the pupil: "That which oppresses you is in no way your father or mother, but an image or caricature formed by childish stupidity. Your anger against your parents is wrong. *You* must change; *you* must become juster and of better understanding towards others." Living educators are often the best corrective of the image brought to light by the analysis, called by C. G. Jung the *imago*. The falsifications of reality have as much psychical efficacy as the exact conception of the same reality; hence the great importance in education of the destruction of the false picture. What has to be done is to place the mischief-maker of the mental household in its proper light, to establish its identity, to drive it away from the house, to put it under the superintendence of the authorities. The magnificent words of St. John, "The truth shall make you free," is the Magna Charta of educative analysis. Half-truths are the cause of much injury, but truth grasped profoundly and in its entirety, the truth which attains to

the transcendent truths of religion and philosophy, this is the truth which shall make us free.

Causes from without are not necessary in order to provoke inner conflicts. Very frequently the individual changes in relation to his environment, for instance, at the commencement of puberty or of old age, or on the threshold of the university; in a word, every time that fresh demands are made on him. Will he undertake the work of adaptation or will he try to evade it? Will he be able to master his new task or will he let himself be conquered by circumstances? It is one of the great services rendered by Jung to have been the first to point out this cause of repression; in my opinion, however, he is mistaken in wishing on the one hand to refer all neuroses to this failure of adaptation and, on the other, to put this failure down to laziness. (Jahrbuch f. psch. Forschungen, vol. V., pp. 422 and 439.)

Freud displays more caution, for he also takes exterior difficulties into consideration. What Jung calls laziness is often a retention, *i.e.*, the effect of a repression or an association which goes back to events long past. This anterior determination frequently makes a mountain of a molehill; but the consideration of the so-called repressions will clear up the difficulty. It is as erroneous as it is dangerous to make laziness wholly responsible for neurosis as it is for the teacher to try and explain the flabbiness of all his pupils by indolence. How many anæmic and overworked pupils have been wronged by this theory? A careful analysis should penetrate more deeply, and disassociate unconscious motives from idleness. If it does not, then many of the chief advantages of analysis are lost, and one is forced back on suggestion, which is so seldom satisfying.

B. THE ACTION OF REPRESSION BELOW THE THRESHOLD OF THE CONSCIOUS, AND ITS MANIFESTATIONS.

1. *The subliminal action of repression.*

(a) *Fixation.*

What, then, are the consequences of repression?

In order to be able to answer this question we must establish the difference between repressed representations and repressed impulses.

Repressed representations must be clothed with a high affective value and connected with strong instinctive activity, otherwise they could not have been repressed.

If the flight into the unconscious has been accomplished, the ideas or representations are in a peculiar situation. They are cut off from the normal course of conscious mental life. Correction by means of other experiences is rendered difficult, sometimes even apparently impossible. After years and decades a repressed idea is found with its full affective value in spite of the fact that it no longer belongs to the present and its contents have long been recognised by commonsense as absurd, *i.e.*, inappropriate to present conceptions. The lady whose dislike of vinegar betrayed her dislike of men, and who bore witness to it by attitude, "I can't bear men," had made a real love match without bringing about any change in her culinary aversion. The repressed wish was consequently still present at a time when a contrary wish was fulfilled in her consciousness. Or we have, again, the case of a patient of sixteen who looks upon his prematurely old, warty and blear-eyed mother as the most beautiful woman in the world. At an earlier age, when the boy was much younger, she had not been so disfigured. (The Psycho-analytic Method, p. 229.) The same thing happens with repressed ideas as happened with the pike in the basin of carp after the removal of the glass screen. For cases of this kind Freud and Breuer, at the commencement of their psycho-analytic researches, formulated the dogma: Hysterical patients suffer from reminiscences. Another clear and vigorous image compares these representations to foreign bodies in the soul. We may remark that the repression of a representation is in reality the fixation of an instinct upon a definite object.

(b) *Regression.*

Instinct can seldom be entirely repressed for a long

time; very often it can only be repulsed. It may disappear from consciousness, but the psychic energy dependent on it formerly will certainly appear one day in another part of the field of consciousness, even if the resemblance of the relation of the new function to the repressed one is not at first perceived. Psycho-analysis has led us to a dynamic conception of soul life. It has taught us that Man possesses the same sum total of psychic force, at least during the same period of time. If force is taken away from any kind of activity it turns up somewhere else. This observation likewise applies to the organic conception of the soul. The thesis of the constancy of psychic force does not, however, claim to be as vigorous a principle as the law of the preservation of physical energy.

Before those instincts which have been put outside the door of the conscious can return, disguised, through the window, they make a journey of which we will now speak. It is a journey into the past, often as far back as infancy. Where instinct stumbles against an obstacle it turns towards past experiences which express the thwarted desire. Freud describes this process by a neat comparison to a river which, if dammed up, sends its waters back towards its source and, in doing so, fills up rivulets which have long been dried. This backward movement is called *regression*.

The return to the past comes about regularly even in the conscious life, if the old way is found to be barred a new passage must be sought. Jesus told men to become as little children. The Renaissance went back to antiquity for the purpose of going forwards. The Reformation, in the terrible distress of its times, attempted to introduce the Christianity of the five first centuries. The word "reformation" bears its own meaning on the surface. Rousseau preached the "return to Nature." Tolstoi, the revolutionary innovator, did actually go back to the primitive life. Without such retrogressions no great progressions are possible, and no fresh creation, however cleverly imagined, has any prospect of a future unless it has borrowed from the past. For it is wrecked

on a law of spiritual life of which we shall speak in a moment.

Regressions may be frequently observed in daily life. The old man who feels his end approaching, feeds his soul with the remembrance of his youth. The disappointed man cries out, "Oh, if I were but a child again!" A sick old man called out, "Ah, mother, if you only knew how I am suffering!" And yet his mother had been dead for years. A medical man whom I analysed and whose profession had lost all attraction for him, so that he was almost devoid of every capacity for work, dreamt that he lay on his mother's breast as he had done when a child.

In dreams, symptoms of disease, forgetfulness and lapses, etc., we find a number of reminiscences of infancy; so many, indeed, that one is almost forced to the conclusion that persons in these states are living entirely in the past, particularly in their infancy. But the neurotic patient makes this past a present; he lives as if what is no more is *now*; he is an incarnate anachronism.

The following is an example of violent infantilism: A hysterical patient of twenty-nine used to become furious if his wife placed the soup tureen on the table with the ladle turned towards him. This was all the more astonishing because there was a big space between him and the ladle. He also got angry if his wife, in the course of conversation, unthinkingly turned her hand towards him. Whenever she moved her fingers in a certain way he was no longer able to bear it, and forbade her, to her great surprise, to use this gesture.

The patient was himself able to explain his anger at the position of the hands and fingers, for there was no repression here, but merely the remembrance of an analogous gesture of his stepmother. On the other hand a simple analysis was found necessary in order to explain his anger with regard to the soup ladle. The result of the analysis was as follows: When he was a child he suffered greatly at the hands of his stepmother. Once she approached him threateningly

with the hot ladle in her hand, saying that she would beat him and burn him so as to mark his face for life. She often stretched her fingers to him in a menacing manner; these fingers were long, like his wife's. One threat made a profound impression on the child: "You wait! The time will come when you'll remember me!" The inoffensive gestures of his wife, and the innocent ladle, recalled the scenes of his childhood; the present occasion, which offered nothing alarming, was interpreted in the light of former occasions, the momentary situation being loaded with the rancour of his infantile experiences. (This is an example of fixation.)

Very often an idea which has long since disappeared and which resembles the present situation appears again. A lady who was staying with her husband at the seaside once quarrelled with him and felt very unhappy in consequence. Suddenly, by the real sea before her she saw a pond which she had often visited when a girl. The water attracted her strangely. At that time the lady was reading my book on the Psycho-analytic Method, and made a small auto-analysis. She found that once, when she was a child and disgusted with life, she had wished to drown herself in this pond. Her first fiancée had broken off their engagement at this spot. And, finally, in her childhood she had seen a drowned man pulled out of the same pond. From associations such as these and with the aid of analogous experiences we may draw the conclusion that she was afraid of a rupture of her marriage and wished to die; that she even desired to be dead already and pulled out of the water.

But regressions do not necessarily refresh the remembrance of childhood. I once analysed a gentleman of forty or so who was often awakened from sleep by a flow of saliva and by biting his tongue. He had therefore had a rubber set of teeth made which he wore during the night. The analysis of the symptoms disclosed that the patient's father, an epileptic who had died about fifteen years previously,

had had the same symptoms about two years before his death, but not previously. The patient identified himself with his father in other respects as well, and thus induced a powerful auto-suggestion (to his great disadvantage) of premature old age. Now it would be, of course, quite possible that the flow of saliva referred back to childhood, since children often play with saliva. But why should it spoil his sleep, and what was its object? There was no recollection of tongue-bite in childhood. To put the matter shortly, the situation and associations of my patient give the solution of the puzzle if the symptoms are to be taken as a regression towards his dead father. In any case, this psychical atavism—and every regression is that—is connected with disagreeable impressions of childhood. His father, strict and soured, never allowed his son any liberty and, by continual depreciation of the best efforts of the latter, spoilt every pleasure the youth took in such efforts. Hence the patient is even to-day indifferent to success; he acts in a Kantian manner, without any inclination, from a pure sense of duty. But he takes no pleasure in life, and withdraws into an artificial old age which he seeks to justify to himself by means of a number of neurotic symptoms.

Remembrances of this kind go very far back, and these former experiences serve to interpret present ones in a manner which is frequently radically wrong. How difficult is the life of such men and with such men who unconsciously revive old pains and interpret present events by their means! And how many teachers torture themselves and their pupils in consequence of such regressions!

The pupil who is frightened by the voice of the master is often a victim of such regressions. It may be that at some time long forgotten his father frightened him in this way, and perhaps he is living over again this forgotten incident. The same is true of the chronic cough without organic foundation, which is frequently the reproduction of psychic events contemporary with an acute pulmonary catarrh. I

have been able to prove this in certain very clear cases. (Psycho-analytic Method, p. 151.) For instance, in the case of a girl who had the habit of moving the skin of her forehead every two or three minutes; she then felt a strong tension at the ear and adjoining parts. When she was small her father used to tilt her head gently back by holding this part, in order to kiss her. She wore a bonnet to protect her head and the upper part of the ears. Later on, when she had become estranged from her father, she was attracted towards a dentist. The tension which she feels in her ears reminds her of the dentist's chair, which presses the head slightly. Finally, when she was seventeen, she was taking a walk with some girl friends when they were met by some rough boys, one of whom seized her from behind and took her head by the same part so as to kiss her, laughing as he did so. The young girl suffers under the estrangement from her parents, with whom she is on bad terms on the pretext that they show her no love. She likewise complains of the coldness of her fiancée. Her nervous tic signifies: "Ah, if I were only back in the time when my father used to caress me, when I was safely guarded from shock, when he who replaced my father in my affections used to treat me with kindness and friendship, when a young man kissed me ardently." As we see, it is a moral conflict which has determined a regression in this case of hysteria, and I may say at once that, in order to bring about the disappearance of this tic, it was necessary, after the revelation of the circumstances that had caused it, to get the girl to abandon her attitude of hatred to her surroundings and her desire to play the little girl.

Regression is also an explanation of many cases of erythromania (blushing without cause), which it is not always easy to refer back to its unconscious genesis, interior isolation, misogamy, unhealthy distrust of a teacher or a superior, etc. There is no neurotic symptom without regression, but, in the majority of cases, other factors are likewise present.

Regression expresses a fundamental law of thought

of which we shall have to speak later because it enables us to understand the educative import of psycho-analysis, namely, the law of relations. In its most general form it affirms that there exists in the soul a constant tendency to place each of its new experiences in relation with analogous or proximate experiences of the past. On this reposes all recognition, which always implies a comparison with the "already seen." We find this relation in every association, but the case of excitation caused by the soup ladle proves that *repressed associations also direct our manner of grasping and interpreting our new experiences*. And more than that: they direct our manner of accepting a situation and its affective reactions much more than our conscious remembrances do. With the latter a conscious comparison, and consequently a correction of the identification, is possible. We say to ourselves that the new experience is not the same as the former one; we admit excuses, and oppose our resentment by inverse considerations. But if a new experience is attracted into the charmed circle of repressed associations, all critical comparison is rendered impossible; a mass of feeling is cast into consciousness, although it does not fit in with the present at all. We cannot get rid of our past experiences unless we recast them. If, for instance, we feel that we are despised and set back, we repress this thought, but it will still direct our attitude towards our fellow men and life itself. Hence regressions are produced, and we often resuscitate old stories without being aware of it. We can only free ourselves from the past by settling with it and re-fashioning the images attaching thereto. (See my monograph: *Analytic investigations into the psychology of hatred and reconciliation*.)

We should be wrong, however, always to consider these regressions towards the unconscious as unfavourable. According to his "will to live" a man flees from a difficult present to a happy past. And even if these consoling parallels are not present in the consciousness, they certainly impart a feeling of well-being to it; hence, without knowing it, we are often

quite cheerful in the midst of critical circumstances. I have given a striking instance in my researches on religious glossolalia. We all know, too, how much Schiller, who in the majority of his dramas combats tyrants, and has thus become the herald of liberty, owes to the regressions which referred him back to his oppressed childhood.

Regression, then, shows us the past in the present. We interpret the one by the other, but we likewise transport the present into the past in order to judge it later by what is happening now. Never, at any time of our life, do we have any absolutely unmixed conception. Historians could say much on this subject, I daresay. The fabric of our life is only woven by passing the woof of the present across the warp of the past. Neurosis is characterised by the gross confusions of the patient between what was and what is: he lives in an imaginary world as far as the extent of his neurosis.

It is of paramount importance to note that regressions towards former periods of life are seldom pure ones. Very often we carry a bit of the present into the past. Wishes and desires which appeared only later are so intimately connected with real past events that we are inclined to believe that they have always co-existed.

The analyst must consequently be on his guard against such illusions lest he fall a victim to them himself and form a wrong image of the former life of his patients, particularly of their infancy.

(c) The importance of the early years.

The stronger the damming of a river, the higher the back flow of its waters. Every time that we find ourselves in presence of a powerful vital inhibition we are now, thanks to Freud's discoveries, in a position to demonstrate that the experiences of the very early years of life play a very important part. *Every neurosis is based on infantile experiences*, and is consequently an anachronism. In those cases in which it was hastily supposed that innate dispositions were the main factor,

Freud, without disparaging the importance of heredity, found an abundance of exterior influences which explained the checks to development. Energetic men who carry out their life's work perfectly and overcome every difficulty by dint of energy, so that the reproach of idleness cannot be levelled at them, are checked at some point of secondary importance and allow themselves to be dragged into a regression which makes them play a pitiful part in face of the demands of the present. On closer investigation one has the impression that they are drawn back to their infancy by an invisible cord. Something like an apple which was bruised when young and never loses the scar. And, indeed, this comparison could not be considered as exaggerated if, thanks to the great elasticity and plasticity of the mind, we were not able by means of analysis to cure the evil.

Such retention types show the importance of education in the earliest years; they also show how pedagogics have hitherto neglected this important period of life. Many of the most injurious pedagogic mistakes have remained almost unnoticed.

Repulsion types, too, which had begun to develop normally and were thrown into a regression by a stroke of fate, so that they have become lost to present realities, are a warning to watch carefully over small children. Difficulties which are overcome at this period are more easily overcome later, when regression sets in. But if the infancy has been a sad one there is great danger that the person who has not been analysed and reverts to this period by regression, will be lost in it and fall into melancholy. Any child that has saved itself trouble by pretending a headache will easily find the way later on to the expedient of illness.

Hence that sort of education is necessary which, without going to extremes in any direction, takes into account the child's need for tenderness and love, his desire of liberty (so as to conduct it into the right paths) and his wish for appreciation, which is to pro-

tect him against mortification in the narrowest sense of the word.

Regressions towards early infancy explain why it is more important for us to protect these early years against unfavourable influences than to preach morality, without, of course, disparaging the influence of concrete and living moral education. We can now understand why a brutal wounding of the child's desire of love and freedom of movement is doing him an injury which no compensations of later years can outweigh.

(d) *Subconscious transposition.*

Whatever has been repressed remains entirely unchanged in the unconscious. Conscious experiences or the play of imagination may excite these repressed impressions and manifest them, but they nevertheless remain unaltered. Bleuler has shown how absolutely contradictory images exist side by side in the unconscious. But as the same repressed tendency can manifest itself in various ways, it may happen that varied experiences can stimulate it to give birth to a number of imaginary fancies without itself suffering any change. That is why Schiller is able to give new forms to his favourite theme of the struggle against tyranny. The stimulant of these variations which appear as portions of our conscious life in dreams or day dreams, is new experiences which are analogous to older ones without coinciding with them.

2. THE REACTIONS OF THE REPRESSED ON THE CONSCIOUS. (THE MANIFESTATIONS.)

(a) *The absorption into the unconscious.*

One frequent effect of repression is that it draws representations which were conscious, or nearly so, into the subterranean kingdom of the unconscious. This may be observed in several domains.

I will first mention some forms of absorption of intellectual processes. The intervention of the unconscious prevents perceptions of every kind and degree;

thus we fail to see an unpleasant acquaintance in the street, though he should greet us. The highest point of such absorption is found in negative hallucinations which can go so far as to cause a sick person not to see someone who is pointed out to him, or to see people without heads, etc. Anesthesia, the insensibility of one or the other sense, is frequently met with, not, indeed, in the whole body but in certain particular places. How many girls have been burnt as witches for their local insensibility to pain? The most terrible monument in the history of European civilisation, the *Witches' Hammer* of Henry Institoris and Jakob Sprenger (1487), is full of such examples of this insensibility of touch or sight. (German edition of J. W. R. Schmidt, Berlin, 1905, vol. II., pp. 79, 80, 84.)

Lapses of memory are likewise well known. In those cases in which anything that frequent use or emotional value ought to keep alive is forgotten, *i.e.*, disappears into the subliminal consciousness, it may be taken for granted that unconscious motives are the determining factor. We still have in mind the case of the soldier who could not recollect the supreme moment of his attack on the enemy's barbed wire. And finally, we have to deal with such cases where the *intellect* has played false in spite of capacity and good will.

I have already mentioned the young lady who had successfully passed her legal examinations, but who took seven years over her dissertation without coming to any definite conclusion. The analysis soon brought to light the cause of this inhibition. The subject of her dissertation was "The Theft of Water." At the time of her choice of this subject the girl made the acquaintance of an engineer who was chiefly engaged in the installation of hydraulic plants. He was unhappy in his married life and fell in love with the young girl, who, after some interior resistance, returned his passion. She said to herself that his married life would inevitably lead to his ruin, as, indeed, he never ceased to tell her. On the other

hand she saw that a divorce would bring unhappiness to his wife, who still loved him. Their relations lasted for six years without leading to actual misconduct, but completely filling the girl's mind. After the rupture with her lover she kept on asking herself with anxiety whether she ought not to have insisted on her friend's breaking off this impossible marriage. It was for him that she had chosen the subject of her dissertation. Behind the theft of hydraulic power associated with her friend lay hidden the intended theft on her side to the detriment of his wife, before which, however, she had recoiled. As long as she was not clear about this theft of love she was incapable of solving the legal problem. A few days after this association had been revealed to her she finished the scientific part of her work without any difficulty. But a new problem arose? Was she to treat the civil or the penal aspect of the problem first? This second obstacle was likewise removed by analysis. What she did not know, now that she had ended by recognising her wrongdoing, was whether she should first expiate her sin before again entering into active life. Once this personal problem had been solved, the obstacle to her studies proved to be a bagatelle.

Feelings can likewise be drawn behind the scenes of the conscious and never again appear on the stage. There are plenty of people who cannot bring themselves to like certain other people, although they are aware of their moral superiority, amiability and physical gifts. The reason is that their unconscious identifies them with some other person whom they dislike. It may happen that liking (or love) will suddenly disappear without a conscious motive if identification with the person liked and another who is detested all at once takes place behind the conscious. This implies that *resolutions* can, in the same manner, be wrecked in full sail or even before leaving the harbour.

(b) *Assimilation to the unconscious.*

It often happens that we feel sure that we know a certain person whom we meet, even if we are perfectly

aware that this is not the case. Analysis gives us the explanation. *Without being aware of it* we have, by a wish, identified the unknown person who is there with someone whom we should like to see. These adaptations of our current experiences to unconscious desires are extremely frequent. The whole orientation in reality may be the result of subliminal contents. There are people who dream a world of their own and are incapable of treating real situations or reality itself.

(c) *The byways of the repressed as manifested.*

It is only by cunning that the repressed can penetrate into the upper world or, rather, convey its messages. This statement may cause indignation, or it may be looked upon as a natural thing; in any case it remains a fact and psycho-analysis has to accept it as such. It can be proved by those who are willing to take the trouble. A feeling is resuscitated more easily than an image. It appears with greater intensity, but only by grafting itself on another representation than that with which it was originally connected. Hence we have the so-called emotional or "affective" displacement. It might possibly be manifested, for instance, by a feeling which ought normally to have been associated with an experience receiving, as complement from the unconscious, repressed feelings availing themselves of the opportunity of invading the conscious. (Hence we speak of a *wave* of feeling.) If, for instance, a teacher gets his morning coffee too late one day from his otherwise punctual wife, he naturally arrives late at school; it is obvious that his pupils will feel the effects of his bad temper, and yet it was not they who brought him his coffee too late! You flog the sack instead of the donkey. But all this is still more true of really unconscious feelings which have escaped. I would remind you in this connection of the incident of the soup ladle.

Sometimes the repressed feeling is smuggled into the conscious in the company of quite another image or group of images. In doing so it attaches itself to

some insignificant but characteristic detail. The repressed hatred of one person may be manifested towards someone else if the latter has by any chance any—possibly almost imperceptible—exterior traits in common with the hated person. The name, the attitude, the shape of the nose, a gesture of the hand,—any of these may not only suffice to evoke the repressed image of a hated person, but also to unchain feelings associated with this image.

A particular case is that of the intensification of a natural fear into anxiety. By anxiety we mean a feeling which corresponds to fear, but which lacks a justifying representation or image, or is associated with a representation without any normal relation to fear. A certain schoolboy imagines that he will encounter bad luck if he does not reach the end of the bridge before the tram does. He fails in his object and is seized with anxiety. Manifestly there is a lack of proportion between the event and the affective reaction of the boy, who is, in general, far from being superstitious. This is what we call a state of anxiety. Or, perhaps, we have a teacher who does his work well and enjoys general esteem, and yet he is in continual fear that he will lose his post. Or, again, a lady who is terrified almost to death by an innocent little mouse. These, too, are cases of anxiety. The Columbus of the unconscious discovered that in all cases of this kind there was an inhibition of the instinct of love, and that the anxiety might, so to speak, remain floating in the conscious without the support of any terrifying image. I may state that, in the hundreds of cases that have come under my hands, I never came across one case of anxiety in which there was not a marked arrest of the vital instinct touching the centres of personality and consequently the domain of love. In this connection I may remind you of the common fear of toads, tortoises and blindworms, a fear which popular science once used to explain by saying that these animals were venomous. These absurd attempts (which are often very ingenious) to impute rational motives to the suggestions of the unconscious are called

by Ernest Jones *rationalisations*; a great number of our so-called free thoughts are nothing more than rationalisations. A special form of this contraband of feelings is what we call reactionary phenomena. These are produced when a wish is repressed and the counter wish is over-accentuated in the conscious, i.e., accompanied by an excess of feeling. We know why cowards ape heroes, and why the schoolboy begins to whistle when passing by the cemetery, although he is aware that it is not seemly to whistle in the presence of death. Fanatic prudery which takes the place of modesty is always a sign of violent and deplorable repression which, one day or another, will surely take its revenge.

The blind fury which drapes itself in the cloak of the Pharisee owes its strength to repressed vices and a feeling of guilt. The sentimental and fulsome language of many hysterical persons, their loving gestures, etc., are only a reaction against their incapability for really deep and true sentiments. Nietzsche's hymn to the cultivation of power and health is but the unavowed premonition of degeneration caused by ill-health. The truly strong man is, like Jesus Himself, exceedingly guarded in the expression of his feelings.

The feeling of familiarity has lost its natural support in the impression of the "already seen" (*déjà vu*), this very well-known sensation of already having lived through the situation in which one finds oneself. (The Psycho-analytic Method, p. 228 *et seq.*)

One detour by which a repressed thought manages to make its way into the conscious in a disguised shape is the *displacement of ideas*. Instead of what we would think and say if the repression did not prevent us, we avail ourselves of an exterior opportunity of alluding to the hidden idea. Tolstoy gives a neat example. A young prince, discussing the question whether his baby should be allowed outside in spite of the cool weather, makes use of grandiloquent arguments which have, however, no logical value. He is himself astonished at this, and discovers by these stupidities that he is endeavouring to hide from himself the illogicalness

of his existence. (War and Peace, vol. II.) We take another instance from a child. Little Tom, five years old, is angry with his mother. "Mamma," he cries, "you are a——" "What am I?" says his mother, threateningly. The child remains silent for a moment or two. Then he points to a dog standing in a characteristic attitude by a wall, and says, "Mamma, isn't that dog a dirty pig?" But he says it with such a triumphant air that his mother cannot be in doubt as to what he means.

We might mention pseudo-memories as another artifice employed for bringing the unconscious to the conscious, and, in a general way, the oldest remembrances of children, behind the insignificant exterior of which very often a very important content is hidden, painful, and consequently inhibited. These may be of paramount importance for the educator. But I have no time to deal with everything in this place and can only refer you again to my book (pp. 224—228).

In these transpositions certain intellectual values effect their re-entry into the conscious by an ingenious byway. In other cases the unconscious attains its objects by a combination of all kinds of memories in an unrecognisable and apparently senseless whole. The face of an unknown person seen in a dream turns out to possess the characteristic features of several persons. They join forces in order to deceive the customs officer on duty and to cross over into the forbidden country of the conscious mind without running the risk of being unmasked. The contrary of these aggregations are the *membra disjecta* which present separately (in a dream, for instance) the isolated traits of a repressed image or representation.

A psychical image, *e.g.*, which has its seat in the foreconscious, may be represented in a dream by several figures; a coherent thought by several actions which are, on the surface, incoherent. Hence the unconscious which wished to reappear remains unrecognisable, and yet an intelligible manifestation of the fettered instinct has made its way out of prison. The

instinct has not, indeed, obtained complete liberty; the repressed image remains captive. It is like a mysterious letter cut up into little bits and smuggled out the cell where the prisoner is confined.

Sometimes it is one single particular, as characteristic as it is possible to be, which appears. A lady frequently dreamt that she is being pursued by a Mongol; she could not understand what this meant. By means of analysis it was found out that whenever her husband is angry he contracts his lower eyelid and looks like a Mongol.

The most frequent manifestation of repressed representations take the shape of a *symbol*. This term is generally used to connote a sensitive image expressing an abstract idea; in psycho-analysis the connotation of the word is extended,—even at the risk of shocking purists,—to imaged representations of *concrete* thoughts. The psycho-analyst is not surprised when a miser (even a particular miser) is “symbolised” by a marmot. I should call the representation as a flamingo of a neighbour with a hooked nose rather an “index” than a symbol, for the resemblance between the two is an exterior one. The drawings of the “unhappy boy” in C. F. Meyer’s story cannot be considered as symbols either. When he represents the terrible *Père Amiel* by a bee (*bête à miel*=idiot of an Amiel) there are no resemblances to, or characteristic features of, the *Père* in his pictures. But when, in the same novel, the wolf in the zoological garden, with its ugly muzzle and sharp teeth, incarnates the hated schoolmaster, here we have indeed a symbol.

The fact that manifestations of the unconscious take the form of symbols need cause no surprise, seeing that the conscious does not act otherwise in analogous circumstances. If we do not want to say a thing straight out we disguise it in other words or phrases. Rabelais clothes in the skins of giants the people of whom he wishes to speak; Swift transports them to the country of Lilliput. Others put into animal shapes those contemporaries of whom they wish to say some-

thing. Martin Disteli, the Soleure painter, and other satirists have made use of their pencils for symbolic representations of this kind.

This is not the place to speak of the enormous place occupied by symbolism in literature, religion, poetry, painting, social customs, etc. Only by deliberately ignoring all this can surprise be felt that symbols appear so frequently in the manifestations which occupy psycho-analysts. The facts of religion, literature and manners are for the most part merely manifestations of this kind.

Repression realises the conditions in which, as we have just seen, the conscious thought has recourse to symbolism. The traveller who appears in his own natural shape at the frontier is turned back, and therefore makes use of a disguise which images what is typical of his person. The manifested symbol is a compromise between the motives which have determined the repression. That which has to be repressed abandons part of itself to the conscious and emerges victoriously from the fight. But its true meaning remains unknown; hence we may say that the "censor" is really victorious. We may find it strange that our conscious and unconscious behave like horse-jobbers or diplomats, but that does not do away with the facts themselves. There they are, and analysis pitilessly unravels the fabrics which, beautiful as they may sometimes be, are none the less extravagant.

The symbolism of the manifestations may be proved either synthetically or analytically; synthetically by placing a hypnotised subject into condition as similar as possible to those of the repression. I have often made such attempts, naturally in the presence of a medical man. For instance, I have given the hypnotised person the order to express his disgust of one of the persons present who had been guilty of a scientific forgery, strictly enjoining him, however, to observe the forms of politeness. Then I ordered him to forget my command. He immediately dreamt that the inculcated person was in a cave with some companions, scratching out items in a book of

accounts, and very anxious not to be surprised at this occupation. On waking, the subject reproached the other with the fact that his study was like the cellar of a gang of coiners, that he was probably only a swindler, that his scientific attitude was no doubt a correct one before the world (*quis'excuse s'accuse*), etc. Experiments of this kind are interesting and, in the case of persons who know nothing of psycho-analysis, give a remarkable proof of the correctness of Freud's doctrine of symbolism. This is no doubt the reason why academic psychology, which deigns to allow a small place to hypnotism, wisely refrains from attempting such experiments.

A careful analysis of the manifested symbols is not less conclusive, but I have no wish to add to the number of examples to be found in the literature of psycho-analysis. Those who can observe will find more than enough, and to others I have nothing to say.

One word only about the so-called *typical* symbols and their interpretation. Frequent attempts have been made to translate certain images which occur very often by the aid of a sort of dictionary, and it may be conceded that there are numerous representations which have, indeed, always the same meaning. The apparition of the Jungfrau of the Bernese Oberland in a dream usually conceals that of another and less icy "virgin" (Jungfrau), and the analyst is not surprised if the name of some Sophia or Anna or any other woman who plays the same part in the soul of the subject as the queen of the Alps among her giant companions, is associated with the name of this summit. But I would not like to guarantee that the white mountain does not sometimes symbolise, side by side with the admirable purity of a virginal soul, the icy coldness of some proud beauty whom the unconscious judges to be incapable of loving. I can likewise imagine that the summit symbolises the difficulties of conquest to a bold and hardy youth, together with the prospect of final triumph. The example further shows us how the symbol simultaneously

represents abstract things, such as beauty, nobility, coldness, purity, inaccessibility; and something concrete, such as the individual bearing these characteristics. Hence the typical symptoms cannot be interpreted by means of an analytical dream book; Freud himself recognised that these symbols may be met with in a sense different from their habitual one. The analyst who knows his business needs no help from outside, and will be capable of deciphering the manifestations without a "dream book." It may, indeed, be admitted that the stereotyped explanation of certain classical symbols has a certain degree of accuracy and, if employed with great caution, may do good service. But it is well to be excessively cautious and sceptical.

It is under the cover of symbols that the majority of manifestations are smuggled from the unconscious over to the conscious; hence the number and variety of disguises. The repressed feelings come to light at the same time as the intellectual contents, and thus it is that we have so many affective coefficients surrounding the symbolical representation or action. A neurotic lady of my acquaintance, for instance, is seized with unspeakable terror if she is left alone in a room for a moment without having pins on her. It is impossible to describe the infernal torments she endures if she is not assured that her plate is not cracked or splintered. But even in the case of normal people symbolical images often receive an extraordinarily affective tone from their relations to the unconscious. Think of the feelings which the Roman Catholic associates with the sacrifice of mass, the dogma of the miraculous birth, and the Protestant with the ceremony of the Holy Communion. We do not claim to say anything about the truth of these symbols.

CORPORAL MANIFESTATIONS OF REPRESSED IMPULSES.

An impulse or instinct thrown back into the past, which cannot realise itself by resuscitating a fragment of experience, tries to get into action by a number of

psychical detours, many of which we have already brought to light. Curiously enough, the repression also finds bodily paths of outlet; sensory, motor or vasomotor phenomena, such as one usually calls "nervous" or, more particularly, hysterical, are the effect of this physiological reaction of the repressed material. The word "hysterical" leaves, indeed, a good deal to be desired: first of all from an etymological point of view, as the Greek word "hystera" is the same as uterus; there is, however, no trace of any affection of this organ in hysteria, with which, as we know, plenty of men are affected. Further, we reject the word "hysterical" as applied to all nervous bodily ailments, seeing that by hysterical persons we understand also those who are afflicted with certain "nervous" symptoms without being bodily ill. But the terminology in this matter is already so deplorably complicated and topsy-turvy that we must make the best of it.

We educators are acquainted by experience with "conversions," as Freud calls them: the reaction of the repressed as a bodily symptom. We know those headaches of children, whom we should never think of accusing of lying, which occur at the moment when they ought to give up their compositions or eat something they don't like. The little pupil of one of my friends awoke one morning and found that he could not open his eyes; it was the day on which he should have had his head washed. He was allowed to stay in bed for the whole of that critical day without opening his eyes. But you can easily imagine how injurious this indulgence must have been. You will doubtless not be surprised to learn from Freud that there are such things as defensive neuroses and blackmail on the part of the "patient." The feeling of duty, and perhaps the fear of punishment on the other hand, the dislike of the work ordered to be done on the other, have agreed on a compromise with the connivance of the unconscious. The regression towards experiences by which an "illness" has got our subjects out of a fix, shows them the path they have to follow,

and, without conscious deceit, they take refuge in hysteria and reap the profits of their "sick" state. These manœuvres are painfully expiated later on, be it understood, and many a life is poisoned and embittered by migraine, stomachic cramps, irritability and other bodily ailments to which recourse is had instead of a steady march forward on the difficult path of duty.

I shall not attempt to give a list of physical troubles of nervous origin; every educator is acquainted with a large number of these: nervous trembling of the face, limbs or body, from "tics" to movements similar to St. Vitus' dance, writer's cramp, all of which are certainly nervous and of psychical origin: stuttering (nearly always conditioned psychically, aphony (loss of voice), inhibitions of every description, intestinal catarrh and constipation: sensory symptoms, painful zones or points, asthma, stomach complaints, vasomotor troubles, also (such as swollen lips, blushing, etc.) are very frequent. They are always found hand in hand with moral inhibitions, with the difficulty of adapting oneself to one's surroundings. It is, *e.g.*, a great mistake to treat stuttering in special courses with exercises in breathing and articulation, etc. If the teacher in courses of this kind is, as is usually the case, a man who inspires affection and gives the child self-confidence, he may be able to determine a new and precious orientation of the vital instinct and thus break the fetters of the repressed. Very often, however, this is not the case; the conflict of the unconscious is not solved, and after a few days the results which have been achieved with so much trouble have totally disappeared.

PSYCHO-PATHOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS OF THE REPRESSED.

If many physical maladies practically call for the ministrations of a physician of the soul, this is all the more true for the majority of mental troubles. Some

of these, as for instance, epilepsy, creeping paralysis, toxic mania (alcoholism, morphinism), senile debility, are determined by purely physical factors and require the services of a medical man. But toxic troubles, notably alcoholism and morphinism, have their origin in psychical distress which frequently comes from a repression. In his book, "Why do men intoxicate themselves?" Tolstoi has shown this relation (The Death of Ivan Iliitch). In cases of this kind drunkenness is a refuge from the present, an escape into the beyond, a neurotic obsession which can be attacked and best cured by analysis. It is a mistake to believe that abstinence is the one and only panacea. Many victims of alcoholic excess cannot abstain from their vice owing to this morbid obsession, and the psychoanalyst is frequently in a position to explain to them the reasons for this incapacity. It would be extremely desirable if the temperance movement, which, in spite of the failing referred to above, is one of great value, would promote research into the unconscious roots of alcoholic excess and thus rid men of their harmful influence.

An organic basis is probable in other psychical troubles; perhaps we may say that all have an innate predisposition. But they are all unlocked by a determinate inner conflict, and the task of the educator consists in preventing or settling this conflict.

We are not qualified or, indeed, called upon in this place to enter into particulars about the various forms of neurosis and psychosis, but here are a few phenomena which educators often meet with.

Neurotic patients in general are people who, in consequence of an inhibition in their infancy, or of an insurmountable obstacle placed in their vital expansion later, are so completely under the influence of repression or regression that their conduct becomes abnormal to a greater or a less degree without having the characteristics of a mental disease properly so-called. The number of neurotic patients depends on the conception of what is normal; the limit or extension of

this conception limits or extends the number of such persons.

A good many cases of neurosis are manifested above all in the domain of affective (sentient) life, even though the will and the intelligence are also implicated. Many people suffer from fluctuations of feelings, which they are incapable of regulating; or their feelings act in direct opposition to their intelligence. They are constrained, perhaps, to like what they know to be worthless, and on the other hand, are incapable of experiencing feeling when they wish to do so. Hysterical people kindle at the first sight of somebody or other, but there is no moral or mental reality in these ardent feelings. What is repressed works negatively and gives rise to violent feelings without the assimilation of this new love to the kernel of personality. Straw fires of this sort are thus phenomena of reaction which betray an incapacity to love. Woe to him who relies on them : he will make both himself and others unhappy !

We have already spoken of those states of anxiety which always go back to violent inhibitions of the vital impulse and thus to erotic or sexual difficulties. Most frequently such cases are attached to determined perceptions which are in close extrinsic or intrinsic connection with the repression. Phobia, *i.e.*, violent fear of mice, lizards, dogs, cats, cows and horses, appears when these animals are imaged symbolically by the unconscious. In all the cases (and there are a great many) which I have analysed, I felt myself obliged to give them the signification of sexual symbols, however much I tried to find another meaning. Perhaps this statement will appear less shocking if we remember that what we call animal in Man is not the reproductive impulse, but that which is morally coarse, and, in particular, profaned sexuality.

But there likewise exists the fear of narrow lanes, tunnels, squares, stairs, etc. I have no time to give you all the cases of these so-called phobia, which analysis explains with certainty as inhibitions of instinct and as symbolism. It may also be observed

that the object of the fear recalls, by means of exterior association, one or several experiences which formerly brought about a violent fear.

There is also a state of unfounded anxiety which can be interpreted by the dreams of the subject. An interned soldier suffered from anxiety after he had been 72 hours continually under fire and threatened by a black man. In the waking state this anxiety was unfounded, but in his dreams he saw himself surrounded by assailants. During his infancy this man had several times been snatched from death by his parents. He now suffered under the loss of his father and mother, that is to say, under an inhibition of his desire for love. Of course he was no longer wishing for death, but for a deliverance similar to his childhood experience. (A single conversation sufficed to cure him.)

Neurotic symptoms are very frequent in intellectual life, too. Teachers are only too well acquainted with those pupils who cannot concentrate their attention on their work; the nervous child is, for instance, incapable of reading because his mind is constantly wandering, or he is incapable of understanding what he has read. Or, again, he sees it, so to speak, at a distance from himself, or his memory fails him. At the same time he fixes himself on certain words or shapes; he keeps on drawing the same figure over and over again. Symptoms such as these demonstrate that some personal problem remains unsolved. His intellectual power leaves him in the lurch when trying to master a fragment of the world around him, because the struggle against the interior unconscious obstacles absorbs too much of his strength. Some representation or other which has been repressed and thus provoked a manifestation, has taken the rudder from his hand. The object imposed on his thought is either in a positive or a negative relation to the repression. A lady whom I analysed, for instance, is not able to read *Faust* because the situation of the heroine reflects her own without her knowing it. Her eye falls on the straight lines of the carpet and follows their direc-

tion, thus showing her desire to give up her irregular life and never again to leave the path of rectitude. A sudden desire to read words backwards may indicate the wish to turn back to one's former circumstances or ideals.

Day dreams, in which certain people indulge for months and years even though they are lacking in any poetic value or intelligible significance, are of paramount importance for pedagogics. I knew a neurotic person who pondered for months and months on the number of millions he intended gaining and who, after having come to a satisfactory conclusion, was not able to explain why precisely *this* figure gave him such pleasure. Analysis showed that his supreme vital interests were reflected in this fateful number.

When the fancies are clothed with the character of reality, even though the subject afterwards sees them to be unreal, we are dealing with hallucinations. They are not always symptoms of serious illness, but they invariably betray deep interior conflict.

A word of explanation is necessary with regard to the innumerable obsessions that are met with in children. Some, as we have said, feel impelled to count up to a certain number; others observe certain rites in walking, such as avoiding or noting the lines of the pavement flagstones. Others gnaw their nails or keep putting their fingers through their buttonholes, or twist their legs, etc. Very often these obsessions disappear after a few days, months, or even years without the aid of psycho-analysis, but they are very often replaced by other symptoms. We cannot call them morbid unless they withdraw the necessary psychical energy from ordinary life. The finest of all examples is still that of Lady Macbeth, who washes her hands for hours in order to cleanse them from the murder of the king. She never finishes because her action does not do away with her crime. The emotional forces which ought to be attached to the moral problem, *i.e.*, purification of the soul, are spent on a valueless symbol. All acts caused by obsessions are based on a displaced feeling of this kind; action which

is called for by internal compulsion, but is not carried out because it is too difficult or painful, is replaced by pantomime. Something similar may be said of obsessive images and feelings. A violent nervous obsession is extremely difficult to analyse. It may be questioned whether such obsessions really can be cured; slight ones can be made to disappear. Psycho-analysis goes much further towards curing them than medicine has ever done, but though, for instance, the chances of cure in hysterical cases are very great when the patients are morally sound beings, I think we should be on our guard against too favourable prognostics in the case of serious obsessions. In any case, a physician should first be consulted.

This is not the place to speak of functional mental maladies in the narrowest sense of the word, or of psychoses without recognisable organic troubles. At the beginning of their development, however, they are of interest for psycho-analytic education, and we shall speak of the first stages of some of these maladies in our next paragraph.

(d) *Reactions of the repressed material on the development of mind and character.*

1. *Sublimation and desublimation.*

The teaching of Freud on sublimation forms that part of psycho-analysis which might seem most suited to gain the sympathies of moralists and educators. Even those who find reason for regret that the analyst has occasionally to explore the lowest and ugliest depths of human nature, will approve of his methods when they consider what sublimation really means.

By sublimation is to be understood the transformation of an inferior instinctive function into an ethically valuable one. It often occurs without repression. A man given over to coarse pleasures may one day put his house in order and take up honest work. A young *viveur* will, like Tolstoi, abandon the circle of his friends and begin to live a pure and estimable life which shall bring forth rich fruit.

Without resorting to analysis it is often impossible to say with any degree of certainty up to what point these conversions are the effect of conscious direction of vital instincts, or how far they are repressed impulses which have raised themselves to a higher mode of life. In those cases where the transformation is accompanied by violent anxiety, as is seen in many cases of religious conversion, we naturally recognise that there is here a reaction of violent repressions. The man who was a slave to his instincts found himself one day on the brink of the abyss; he energetically flung back the evil impulses and, since that time, leads a moral life, investing his capital of psychical energy in permanently valuable undertakings, while his impure desires gradually fade away. Many a person who had fallen morally has broken the power of his instincts and sublimated them to noble artistic, social, scientific or religious passions. St. Francis of Assisi himself exhibits traces of repression when he declares that he never recognises a woman's face.

There is a distinct difference between sublimation by conscious mastery of one's impulses and that caused by repression.

Those who build their higher life on repression are frequently fanatical and anxious, hard on those who do not share their beliefs or who commit faults. Their whole conduct lacks freedom. Many a monk or priest is an example of this sort of sublimation; or the Puritans, to whom dancing and skittles were an abomination. Types of freer, *i.e.*, fully conscious, sublimation, are Jesus, Zwingli and Pestalozzi.

It must not, however, be thought that the coarser impulses sublimate of themselves: on the contrary, their primitive activity must encounter some obstacle if it wishes to raise itself to higher regions. Nor must it be believed that what happens is that the primitive impulse merely changes its coat and dons the velvet jacket of the artist, the judge's robe or the monkish cowl. Sublimation is never the mere blossoming of a primitive instinct, *e.g.*, sexuality raised to a higher level; it is rather what biologists call *epigenesis*, *i.e.*,

the vital impulse devotes itself to other and higher functions. No instinct is ever sublimated without joining forces with other spiritual functions, and in the same way there are no higher spiritual functions which are merely only the sublimation of an instinct. The organic study of mental life proves this. In religion there is more to be found than the psychical energy withdrawn from sexuality, although there is unfortunately a grossly sensual, and consequently inferior, form of religion in which too few other spiritual forces are at work. In order to deserve the name of sublimation a religion must bring forth moral fruit of high value.

It is to be noted that where there is no repression a sublimation can only be maintained by utilizing new energies. Sublimation bears within itself the tendency to cool down just in the same way as heat does. Repression is a protection against a loss of this kind, but only to a certain extent; in so far, however, as such repression represents a barrier against danger, it is without doubt an asset. The misogynist who is incapable of love is preserved from many perils; in revenge, however, there is greater fear of an explosion of the primitive instincts. The strict behaviour and narrow sublimation of the Methodist is fraught with dangers which a man of noble character who expends his energy in a wide field of noble activities need never fear. Very frequently, too, we see morbid symptoms side by side with those of high ethical value.

It is the sacred duty of the educator to render sublimation possible. There is, however, one condition which is too seldom considered, but which must be observed if the personality is not to become a victim of emotional barrenness or immoral fanaticism and the prey of bodily and mental ills; namely, the attempt must be made to master instead of repressing the primitive impulse or instinct. Even in the case of sick people who submit to analytic education our task consists in liberating all the repressions, even elementary and animal ones, and subjecting them to the moral

consciousness, so that Man may become a spiritual unity in place of a divided being.

If, in the conflict of the moral with the primitive, the latter comes off victorious, the result may be a checking of the sublimated functions. I call this *desublimation*. All of you know the facts which I have in mind. It may happen that a man who has enjoyed a moral education and has hitherto bowed down to parental authority, suddenly casts off the yoke and begins an irregular life. There are so many teachers and clergymen who have undergone this experience with their sons that the thing has become proverbial. Young men of this sort often exhibit a savage hatred of morality and religion, their parents, their teachers, their pastors. The very excess of the violence with which they fight against their former ideals betrays the repression and shows that their whole conduct possesses the character of a reaction. They deliberately thrust from their memory all the rules of conduct given them before. The analysis brings to light a crowd of dreams of hatred and revenge, the origin and meaning of which are hidden in the unconscious. Their life is, unknown to themselves, often nothing but a systematised act of vengeance. Hence psycho-analysis is of great benefit to those parents whose sons are the cause of unspeakable sufferings to them.

I knew a medical student who, shortly before his last examinations, formed a *liaison* with a morally fallen *artiste*, to whom he gave the fortune he had inherited from his mother, and for whose sake he gave his studies the go-by. Protests from his parents and professors were fruitless, as the youth declared his intention of devoting himself to the salvation of his lady friend, whom he believed to be a misunderstood angel. And this in spite of his natural intelligence. I succeeded in making him perceive clearly his unconscious hatred of his father and other repressed motives. We carefully investigated the familiar argument of neurotics which Freud has so brilliantly brought to light : " If I turn out badly it serves my father right."

The unconscious roots of this idealisation of a money-seeking adventuress were brought out of their hiding place, and at the end of our one and only interview the evil spell was broken. To-day the young man has passed his examinations brilliantly.

Analyses of the same kind are suitable for Don Juans, provided that they have not taken to vice owing to moral callousness, but have been drawn into the vortex by a neurosis, and they themselves, perhaps, are the first to deplore what they cannot cure. The same is true of neurotic incendiaries, drinkers, prostitutes, inveterate vagabonds, infant prodigies, etc., among whom there are many victims of desublimation. There are, further, certain morbid symptoms which may be considered as desublimations, in as far as forces which expend themselves in charitable purposes, love of Nature, etc., have turned into pathological phenomena owing to an inhibition which has caused a repression. The breaking out of a violent neurosis is often accompanied by a loss of altruistic and moral feelings.

It is not always sufficient to point out to the patient the motives which have led him to this wrong course; very often analysis must dig anew the channels which are to lead him to a better life. We shall touch on this later on.

We distinguish three kinds of immoral persons: (1) the weak without repressions, who are incapable of ethical reaction or construction; (2) immoral neurotics who have gone to the bad as a result of the repression of a primitive impulse (v. below); and (3) neurotics who are the victims of desublimation, and whose faults should be considered in the light of reactions against an education which aimed at a high ideal, but which was supported by too great repression.

2. *Reactions of the repressed material on the direction of the vital impulse.*

As we have seen, repression immobilises the life of the soul at several points and makes it incapable of

many a further development. The path taken by the psyche is not only dependent on the repressions, but also on outward circumstances and its own capacities. The reactionary possibilities of the repression on the development of character may be counted by thousands; I merely indicate the most frequent.

Every human being has within himself the tendency to grasp the outer world, to subject it to his ends, and the opposite tendency to give himself to the outer world. Those who make their *ego* the end and aim of all their actions and care little about others are called egoists by our moral sense, while those who live more for others than for themselves are known as altruists. But, parallel to this ethical attitude towards the outer world is another and more rational attitude which, however, exhibits the same differences. I call all currents in which the vital impulse is directed outwardly, either to men or to things, *centrifugal*; those which chose the *ego* as the aim of their existence I call *centripetal*. These double bearings allow us conveniently to classify the effects of the repression on the direction taken by the development of character and thought.

When feelings directed towards mankind and Nature are repressed, the thought—to take this first—will probably try to obtain satisfaction in some formal activity. With children this is often manifested by the pleasure they take in arranging and cataloguing never mind what. (v., my article on *Games as precursory symptoms of morbid development, a contribution to the psychology of science*. Schulreform X.) These repressions may also be manifested by a passion for mathematics, logic, metaphysics. This is the psychological explanation of the character of Kant, who, as Haeberlin remarks, sometimes represents feeling as something morbid, and banishes it from his morality in order to plunge into the most abstract thought—Fichte, Hegel, the modern solipsists and philosophers of the immanent. Kant's philosophy is the reflection of the image of this unmarried pedant who never quitted Koenigsberg and who, after inviting

his friends to take coffee with him, falls into such gentle slumber that his guests can do nothing better than to sit by his side and take a nap themselves!

Natures of this kind isolate themselves as far as possible from a world for which they have little or no love. We have already said in speaking of maladies of the soul that day dreams may assume an excessive value and even give birth to hallucinations, substituting for the real world a dream world in which the heart's desires have full career. Bleuler calls those forms of thought *autistic* which are coloured by personal desires rather than by reality, and which are swayed by the invisible world within the individual who has given up as hopeless the cruel world without. The beginnings of catatonia, *i.e.*, that mental malady in which the outside world has lost all interest and in which the patient lives entirely within the circle of his own *ego*, are seen by the educator in several natures who place a barricade between themselves and their surroundings and fall back upon their own personality. They are introverted natures, *i.e.*, such as are turned in upon themselves. But, in order not to awaken erroneous fears, we hasten to add that not all solitaries are threatened by mental disease, and that a certain amount of introversion is even an indispensable condition of a healthy inner life. But it is nevertheless true that there are numbers of beings who suffer intensely from the fencing in of their *ego*, and, in the attempt to escape from themselves, turn their vital impulses to thoughts which are strangers to reality and too often sterile. Very often the principal cause of this formalism is to be found in an unsatisfied need for tenderness, a lack of active relations to Man and Nature. The roots of this evil lie in the emotional life, or rather in its inhibitions.

Misanthropy, the incapacity to love one's neighbour, whether supported with indifference or accompanied by a dull rancour, frequently appears as a dangerous effect of repression on the emotions. Many never succeed in feeling the love which is the preliminary to marriage, but still are great philanthropists; others

are capable of feeling great conjugal love, but the natural side of married life is repugnant to their reason and conscience, so that they run a great risk of wrecking their matrimonial happiness. We have already spoken of those who are incapable of any true feelings towards man or beast, nature, or practical or scientific work. It is obvious that these unhappy creatures are on the brink of melancholia, and if they do not find a safety-valve for their vital impulses they run the risk of falling a prey to neurosis or even psychosis (mental malady). More than once I have come across youths who considered their companions to be disgusting "pushers," who denied the existence of God, the social commonweal, art, etc., and who were hurrying towards the abyss. They might have been saved by analysis, which, in such cases of loss of feeling, has often achieved splendid results; but they did not wish to submit to it. A stay in the country or the mountains is generally insufficient to ward off the impending catastrophe.

We shall not be surprised to learn that repression is very frequently a determining factor of egoism.

And we shall now understand pessimism, which always has its source in repression, and is only to be overcome by emotional emancipation, not by an appeal to reason. Even optimism may not be based upon a healthy conception of life, but upon a repression. Persons who have a hard life often refuse to look it in the face, and seek refuge in a good-humour which represents, for them, the pleasant-looking film of green spread over a treacherous bog. It is comprehensible that persons of this kind waste a great part of their gifts. They are inclined to be superficial; they cannot help the distressed and suffering because they avoid them; they shrink before serious problems and easily collapse when their illusions are put to any difficult test. These optimists by repression belong to the centrifugal characters we have already mentioned. Clowns in real life are nearly always unhappy natures: Molière, Reuter and Busch suffered from life.

The tendency to isolation in religious matters leads to a mysticism which finds God or the Supreme Being in the depths of the *ego*. If we are to believe Maeder, Hodler represents this psychological tendency in art, and, we might say, Kubin as well.

Many phenomena connected with volition depend on emotional inhibitions; for instance, that form of feebleness of will resulting from the conflict of extremely violent feelings. There are plenty of people who produce little or nothing exteriorily but expend a huge amount of psychical energy in interior struggles. They are under the sway of neurotic obsessions and the tyranny of the repressed, and may be compared to the men in the story of Lot, who did not see the house door and entered by the walls.

Alcoholic excess, about which we spoke when treating of desublimation, may likewise be met with in cases in which the subject has not attempted to shake off a too rigid moral discipline. Drunkenness often serves centripetal designs by favouring isolation from the world and aiding the autistic imagination to clothe appearances with reality.

And, finally, I shall mention one more form of centripetal tendency, namely, asceticism, which aims at the raising of the *ego* in the direction of certain moral conceptions. If asceticism is really placed at the service of philanthropy it does not concern us here. Where there is no repression it is quite inoffensive, often very useful; but this is not true of those who become ascetics by turning away from the world, who pretend to elevate their inner strength and perhaps try to master instinct by spirit. Asceticism of this kind finishes by strengthening self-satisfaction and increasing isolation. Very often under the mask of the noble self-educator we perceive the dangerous traits of passive cruelty which delights in self-torture. Nietzsche saw this association very clearly. (Genealogy of Morality III. What do our ascetic ideals signify?) The desire to be ill is often based on the desire for exquisite suffering, and it is precisely such exquisite suffering that leads to asceticism of this

kind. (I do not say all kinds of asceticism.) I once knew a pupil who began ascetic exercises with a moral purpose and, when he found that he could not conquer his instincts, martyred himself more and more to the extent of subjecting his sexual organs to brutal treatment. He did not suspect that there had long been a sexual undertone in his impulses. The well-meaning advice of Foerster has an injurious effect on people with a tendency to isolation; in many cases, indeed, as I have myself proved, it leads directly to danger to health. A pupil to whom I had recommended Foerster's method brought me his carefully kept diary in which during three years he had put in separate columns his ascetic exercises and his lapses. The struggle had almost driven him to despair. In my article already mentioned on children's games I gave a case of another semi-desperate ascetic. In slighter cases, natures of this kind must be directed towards the love of their neighbour in the sense of Jesus. Very often, however, the obsession is so violent that this advice sounds cruelly ironical. Analysis alone can give the required help, and ethical advice must retire for a moment to the background.

We may pass over other causes of characters which have become centripetal to excess owing to repression.

The centrifugal direction is enormously intensified when the repressed material causes the new impressions to submit to a negative treatment, *i.e.*, it fails to be incorporated with the interior unconscious activity, but, on the contrary, it receives numerous additions from the unconscious and then reacts towards the exterior. In centripetal reactions what is repressed drowns the subject with excess of feeling; in the opposite reaction the exterior world is over-accentuated. But the feelings engendered towards it are not profound; however much they may inflame the conscious they have not sufficient strength, for they are superficial. They resemble the seed fallen on stony ground which grows rapidly but, having no root, withers away. The unconscious refuses to assimilate the new impression and thrusts it from it.

Who does not know these straw fires of passion? Who has not seen through those tender souls whose exaggerated feelings exhibit their real incapacity for love? We educators would do well to treat such outward manifestations of feeling gently and charitably, but nevertheless insist on their transformation into action.

There was an instructive story in a Swiss newspaper. A man and his wife were travelling by train with the window open. The lady began to lament and cry: "It's really scandalous to have to sit in such a draught. That's the way to get pneumonia, rheumatism, and I don't know what! You ought to be ashamed of yourself for bringing me into this carriage; I shall never travel by train again." But she did nothing to mend matters. Her husband said: "You are quite right, there is a draught." And he got up and shut the window. Both actions were centrifugal, but the woman had spent her strength in complaints and useless accusations, whereas the man, with but little expense of energy, had put things right. From one of the bridges of Zurich there could once be seen two mill wheels; one of them splashed a great deal and made a lot of noise, the other worked remarkably quietly: it was this one which did the most work.

Thinkers who are influenced centrifugally by the unconscious tend towards realism; when their emotional life is violently repressed they become materialists or, since the more brutal forms of materialism are no longer fashionable in society, psychophysical materialists. If the emotional values are the object of a less deep repression they give the preference to an objective idealism. (Cf. Ferenczi, *Jahrb. für psa. Forschung* I., p. 430, *Imago* I., p. 820, c. Winterstein, *Imago* II. 2nd No.)

If the unconscious drives the feelings violently towards the exterior, love flourishes. If the primitive erotic feelings have not been repressed, conjugal love will easily find an object; there may, however, be bitter deceptions and affection resulting in pure loss, seeing that the claims of the heart are numerous, and

the repression which is a regression towards his mother thrusts aside all other objects of love. Many a youth who was ardently in love found himself one day sitting by the ashes of this flame; the analysis showed that he had been looking for a substitute for his mother and had suffered a cruel deception. Happy those who discover their error before marriage!

The vital impulse to philanthropy is a noble thing; it, too, can be temporarily or permanently strengthened by repression. It goes without saying that what we have already said of sublimation applies here too: it represents a higher value, and it would be false to perceive in it sexuality in the ordinary sense of the word. The feelings can also be transferred to God. When love has not been sublimated to the love of one's neighbour and to moral purposes before turning to God, it gives rise to that un-beautiful piety we have already mentioned which healthy natures cannot appreciate, but which attracts hysterical persons. They fall in love with Jesus or Mary and, under the mask of religion, indulge in obscene excesses.

If love is repressed, the ego-feelings can be exaggerated; they derive considerable strength from the unconscious and may develop into ambition or the desire for wealth or power. Numerous despots, place-hunters, usurers and other egoists betray the emotional repression from which they are suffering. Their desire for tenderness has come into collision with reality and they have painfully felt their personal inferiority, which feeling they try to compensate by passionately pursuing exterior aims. The evils of modern capitalism, imperialism and other similar scourges are mostly anchored in repressions. These *extraversions* (directed to exteriors) are based on deep *introversions*. But I must not now go beyond these few remarks on the interest of psycho-analysis for the history of civilisation.

Hatred is also a centrifugal manifestation, and, like love, it flows from the most varied sources. We hate a man who, without our being aware of the fact, in-

carnates certain unpleasant characteristics of our own personality; we hate him because he bears an obscure resemblance to another at whose hands we have suffered. The unconscious cause of our hatred may be unhappy love, envy, jealousy, etc. I trust you will not accuse me of being superficial if I do not attempt to complete the picture; as a matter of fact I have in this paragraph merely selected a few particularly important facts from the great number I might easily have quoted. And even these, I fear, may have fatigued you. But there are still some cases which must be mentioned.

Centripetal natures which have little love or activity to confer on their surroundings, suffer from a feeling of inferiority which they try to compensate by a sentiment of their own greatness which they exaggerate by autosuggestion. Centripetal love leads to increased centrifugal hate, love of power or rapacity in cases where there is no weakness of volition. If the egoist who is incapable of loving projects his traits of character into others the result is persecution mania. The solitary is almost invariably suspicious. On the other hand he always attempts to belittle others. This love of belittling is always an involuntary confession of a feeling of inferiority, the projection of personal insufficiency to one's surroundings. But, in spite of the apparent contradiction, it may likewise be explained in an opposite manner. We know that the feeling of inferiority co-exists with illusions of greatness; the autist who finds little of value in reality, puffs up his own ego and dreams that he is playing some part of paramount importance, and while actually suffering from his real misery, tries to give himself the illusion of being something great. His conscious exaggeration of his personality is frequently the reaction to unconscious bankruptcy. This casual reaction is often to be observed in the morbid oscillations of the conscious between the two feelings of personal inferiority and personal exaltation. Thus the depreciation of the words and acts of others frequently corresponds, if caused by repression, to the

conscious illusion of one's own greatness, as is the case with fools who, without being victims of repression, have an extraordinarily high opinion of themselves.

When the desire for love and the instinct of free activity are thrown back and repressed, the result is not merely a negative feebleness of volition but often the opposite reaction, that bravado and disobedience which may be carried over from the father, to the teacher or other superior, such as the corporal or lieutenant, and even the sovereign. Negativists, eccentrics, quarrelsome people and anarchists belong to this category.

The misogynist extends his hatred of his mother to the whole female sex, but this unpleasant symptom may conceal other sexual repressions. Homosexuality also creates misogynists.

Pathological lying, kleptomania and other criminal tendencies worse than these are often met with in people who wish to revenge themselves on their surroundings owing to painful memories which have been repressed. But such actions are likewise met with elsewhere. They have a symbolical meaning. Many a kleptomaniac who steals money is covetous of love, but cannot realise his wish. The ordinary criminal who acts from deficiency of moral sense may also accomplish acts of vengeance, but his motive is hardly, or but little, repressed. But the neurotic delinquent is ignorant of the real motive of his wicked impulses; consequently the inhibitory ideas which he opposes to his crime do not strike the root, and his resistance is weakened. For this reason it is easier to cure him by analysis than the morally weak criminal.

Certain analysts attach importance to the distinction between two principal types which they place in opposition to each other, namely, the inverted type and the transferred type. The former withdraws his feelings from the outside world and develops his instincts autistically from within. The latter, on the contrary, attempts to discharge his feelings on the outer world. I admit that this distinction may often be made, but it must not tempt us to divide all men

into two classes. A man may be violently introverted with regard to love and equally violently extraverted with respect to ambition, money, etc. Or, again, violent feelings may be transferred to Christ or the Virgin Mary, and withdrawn deliberately from one's fellow creatures and fed upon autistic fancies with an impertinent exaggeration of one's own personality. The same man may at different periods of his life be relatively more introverted or extraverted, and it would be a vain task to try to put all men into the one or the other category; between the two there are many transition states.

One word about the influence of repression on temperaments, which are certainly not exclusively innate. If, with Wundt and Ebbinghaus, we differentiate them according to the intensity of their emotional movements, the rapidity or slowness of their alternations, the predominance of the impressions of pleasure or pain, we have already seen in what measure these can depend on repressions. I have no time now to sketch the genesis of the various temperaments as shown by analysis.

(e) The content of the manifestations.

Among so many kinds of manifestations I shall select two in order to show you their nature and importance from the point of view of pedanalysis, and at the same time I shall attempt to enlighten you on one or two controversial topics.

1. *Dreams.*

Dreams are the product of two factors: the conscious and the unconscious. The repression which has been disturbed in its retreat by some exterior event, penetrates to the daylight of the conscious; the fettered impulse wishes to show its value, but can only do so by making use of the disguises of which we have spoken.

That which appears in the dream, the so-called manifest content of the dream, has in the case of adults quite another aspect than that which the re-

pressed material actually wished to communicate. And naturally so; for if the repressed wish could communicate easily with the conscious, it would be immediately recognised and the repression would be suspended. It is only exceptionally that the desires of the unconscious present themselves directly to the dreamer, *e.g.*, if the repression is not a very painful one and no vital interest is involved.

Freud stated that every dream expresses the fulfilment of a wish, but he expressly added that it is not the manifest content of the dream which openly indicates the asserted realisation of desire, but certain wishes of the unconscious, the latent thoughts of the dream, as he terms them, which are hidden behind the events of the same. These hidden tendencies are generally realised by the dream in a masked form. The drama goes on in the same way when tyrants are slain or the innocent protected, or when magic is employed to kill a man. It requires a good amount of impudence or stupidity to twist these assertions of Freud's into the theory that every dream expresses the hidden thoughts of the dreamer. If a newly-married woman dreams of gooseberry bushes, this certainly does not express the desire to lie under one! But what does the dream signify? It is only lack of intelligence that could put the question at all.

No doubt it may happen that the contents of the dream express a repressed desire, but such cases are rare and only occur if the repression is not a deep one. If you dream of the death of a person whom you hate, the desire for this event cannot be very far from your consciousness, even in the waking state. Interrupted dreams, *i.e.*, those in which the sleeper wakes before he has found the solution, form an exception to the rule. In such cases one may always recognise the existence of contradictory desires, none of which have been vanquished.

The determining conditions of the dream tell us why it hides and betrays something at one and the same time. Hence it is not a direct betrayer of secrets. The penetration of the interpreter finds out the hidden

meaning. One of the oldest and profoundest epics of humanity, the Gilgamesh Epic, shows this in a charming manner. Ea, who has saved his friend Utnapishtim from the flood by warning him beforehand, defends his action thus: "I have not betrayed the secrets of the gods. I sent dreams to the 'Prudent One,' and he divined the plan of the gods." The analyst imitates what the Father of Man did in that old story. He tries to penetrate into what the god of dreams reveals in images.

Let us consider the contents of dreams more closely. Freud formulated his conviction thus: "Dreams are absolutely egoistic." (The Interpretation of Dreams, 2nd ed. and his latest and illuminating work, Introductory Lectures to Psycho-analysis II. The Dream, p. 250. Vienna, 1916.)

His explanations give the impression that he does not use the word egoistic in its moral sense, but more or less with the connotation of *egocentric*, and he is certainly right. In a dream the outside world is always treated according to our personal interests. Tell me what you dream and I will tell you what you desire. But you must tell me first what comes into your mind with regard to the fragments of your dream; I must then deduce your secret aspirations.

In my opinion it is an error to attempt to distinguish an objective and a subjective stage in every dream, and to attribute value to the latter only. Hence I object to the proceeding which consists in first trying to interpret the wishes fixed upon an object and then goes on to say: "There can be no question of a wish of this kind. In reality, all the concrete objects of the dream are only the incarnation of certain subjective tendencies of desire, *i.e.*, auto-symbols. A dream is never anything else than a symbolic description of one's own personality: what is historical in the dream never represents anything but a determination of the ego, and it would be a mistake to think that the sleeper is in any way preoccupied with the facts of reality. "He who dreams of his father is thinking of his belief in authority; the sleeper who dreams of his mother

is not thinking of her, but of his own desire for tenderness, protection, etc." This theory of the dream which I am subjecting to criticism, resolves all the historical elements of the dream into a symbolical contemplation of one's own personality. He who dreams makes a portraiture of himself (v.my article: The De-historisation in Psycho-analysis. Intern. Zeitsch. f. arztl. Psch. III. mpp. 350-352.)

This conception, which can only escape the charge of absurdity by means of excessively arbitrary interpretations, has doubtless one advantage: it permits us to do what we like with any dream whatsoever. A clever observer of mankind can read into a dream anything he knows about the dreamer. I will give an example. A lady dreamt as follows: "I packed up my things in a small bag and took the tram. It seemed to me that I was in another town. I went to an office to look for a post as housekeeper. The more children there are, I said, the better. A gentleman told me, laughing, that he had never met anybody like myself; all the others used to say: 'No children and no dogs!' He told me to come again to meet a gentleman who had been left a widower with seven children. I went into a restaurant to dine. On returning to the office I met a gentleman who told me I could enter on my duties as housekeeper with him the next morning, to take care of the house and especially of the children. He had a girl for the housework. He then asked me if I played the piano. On my replying that I only played the harmonium, he told me that I would not do for him; he wanted somebody who played the piano. I turned brusquely into the street and saw my husband there, looking for me."

The dreamer is not quite happy in her married life. Before her dream she had spoken to me on several occasions of her intention to obtain a divorce. She is very fond of children, and has taught successfully at a boarding-school. She would now like to take up similar work, but, on the other hand, she is greatly attached to her husband. As she has a sufficient knowledge of psycho-analysis, I let her look for the inter-

pretation of the dream herself. Only apropos of the piano did I ask her what came into her mind in this connection, and she answered, "I can't play it, but governesses have to."

She supplied me with the following interpretation: "I wanted to leave my husband to go among children. With my love for them I should certainly have had a chance of getting something. But, at the last moment I find I am not wanted, and am happy to find that my husband is looking for me."

The interpretation fits in perfectly with the situation. I may add that a few days before this dream I had let fall the observation that the dreams of this lady were always remarkably complicated and difficult to explain. At the same time as the dream which I have just explained she told me another equally simple.

If we were to interpret this dream by means of personal symbols, we might find a huge number of various significations. "Packing up one's things in a small bag,"—might that not hide a desire of introversion; "To go to children,"—might this not be a repressed wish? "To be looked for by her husband,"—is this not the desire to become more virile? I must confess that I have no great desire to introduce such a romance into this simple dream, although I could by so doing attach all sorts of moral recommendations and, with a little authority, get the dreamer to believe that she had merely been holding a moralising monologue.

There are many dreams which are the representations of one's own mental (psychic) state, and many of the objects of such dreams represent others which equally reveal the tendencies and imaginations of the heart. But even in personal representations we must be on our guard against despising the historical elements. If we neglect to take these fragments of biography seriously for fear of making things too concrete, we run the risk of losing our footing. Let us take an example already mentioned. A savant of something over thirty dreams that he is lying on his mother's breast. If we are not willing to admit that

this simply expresses the desire to a suckling, free from material cares and responsibilities, how are we to interpret the dream? Shall we say that he wishes to suck the breast of Science? Or the breasts of Nature, "Mother Earth?" Or is his country his mother? Does the dream therefore mean: "You must study more, live more naturally, do your duties as a citizen better." The dreamer's associations say nothing of this. In fact, he had none. But his whole attitude fits in with the concrete interpretation. For several years he has lost his taste for work to such a degree that he finally had to flee to analysis; he has material worries, and his attitude is that of a shy child who is conscious of his own inferiority. He does, indeed, wish "to be a child again."

Attempts have also been made to put aside the sexual as being an erroneous concreteness, and to represent it as being merely a cloak for non-sexual tendencies. I should be very happy if I had nothing to do with sexual life in my analyses, but in my opinion it is scientifically impossible, and in practice very dangerous, to neglect this factor. Those who, with Adler, maintain that sexuality can never produce neurosis, and that it is only the repressed desire of power which is the cause of such, are treating the matter too lightly. Adler's attempt to desexualise analysis, and that of Jung to lessen the importance of the historical elements, appear to me to be the result of error. Adler's hypothesis can only be maintained by doing violence to the facts. Sexuality can, as we have already said, be exaggerated by inhibitions of another order; in which case it is not a primary but a secondary cause of trouble. It may likewise happen that, owing to transference, a sexual image has an asexual significance, but such cases are exceedingly rare. The fact remains that sexual images must as a rule be taken very seriously: the failure to recognise them leads to a dangerous ostrich-like policy. Psycho-analysis would doubtless become more acceptable to the masses and lose a great deal of that which still makes it unpopular, but it would pay for these advantages with

the loss of its intransigent rigour and power to aid the suffering.

The associations or the general situation can lead to over-interpretation: a dream has often several super-imposed layers, just as esthetic symbols or words can often be variously interpreted. This implies that a dream can indicate the fulfilment of several wishes simultaneously. But prudence is called for, and simplicity should not be underrated.

I came across some very fine examples of symbolical representations of the personality in the case of a man who had had a stereotype dream from about his fifth to his tenth year. He ran under the earth in a cave and found no outlet; or he wished to give someone his hand, but the hands never met; there was a space between them. This space was, in reality, a small one, but, at the moment when he wished to grasp the other hand, it became immeasurably greater. The child prayed ardently that this dream should not come again, and an actual interruption set in. The dream, however, returned after a long interval. At the age of twenty-four the youth suffered from his incapacity of loving; hence he had a feeling of inferiority, a disgust of work and great bashfulness. The cave is a fine image of the subterranean unconscious; the space between the hands shows in a striking manner the invisible barrier between himself and his fellow-creatures whom his love cannot reach.

The functions of the dream have often been discussed. Freud calls it the "guardian of sleep." Nobody who understands what is meant by this will contradict the statement. Nightmares may torment the sleeper, and they are then like guardians who rattle their swords. Nevertheless their good intentions must not be overlooked.

We might also say: The task of the dream, like that of every other manifestation of the unconscious, is to open a valve for wishes which cannot be immediately fulfilled, and, by a symbolical realisation (at least) of these desires, prevent a still more rigorous fettering of the instinct. I am inclined to set this pre-

servative activity very high indeed : the dream is not only the guardian of sleep, but likewise of the sleeper.

But this function of the dream does not exclude others. Freud himself has pointed out that resolutions are often elaborated in a dream. Adler calls preliminary thoughts and sensations the main functions of the dream, but unfortunately believes that this activity is always in the service of personal security. (Zentralblatt f. Psa. III., p. 564.) Maeder speaks of a teleological task consisting in the solution of unconscious problems. (Ibid, p. 562. Jahrbuch f. Psa. Forschung III., p. 692.) I do not see that any objection can be made to the theory that a dream often masks a resolution which is afterwards approved of by the conscious, but I categorically deny that *every* dream treats of our life task or program. Only by means of artifice can every dream be seen to be entrusted with this high mission. There are also momentary desires which are expressed in a dream. And it would, moreover, be regrettable, by neglecting the old materials to which regression has come to impart new life, to see in a dream only that which it announces for the future. We shall show later that this would be to misjudge the proper task of analysis. It is as necessary to know where the dream comes from as to know whither it is tending and what it proposes. A very critical attitude must be adopted against the suggestions expressed in dreams. Unsuitable projects can come again and again from the depths of the *ego* : the fully conscious man, however, must himself determine his life.

Hence we should be on guard against too quickly obeying the insinuations of our dreams. Dreams are frequently strongly suggestive, and reflect the dreamer's own theory of his dream. We must try to see clearly the aims of our life as made desirable by our gifts and by circumstances, and then our dreams, if properly analysed, will surely point in the same direction. Of this I shall say a word later. For the moment I would like to quote a true and noble word from Freytag's "Soll und Haben" : "Never say that

our life is poor in poetic feeling; the magician, Poetry, still rules the sons of earth. But let every one give heed to the dreams which he keeps in the inmost recesses of his soul, for when they have grown they may easily become his hell, his pitiless hell."

Not only our immoral, but also our noble, ambitions may be reflected in our dreams, but the trifling repression under which they suffer may make them appear slightly disguised. Here are two instances: A girl of 23 had the following dream: "I was ill in bed. An angel came to me and looked at me affectionately, caressed me without saying anything and then looked at me pityingly. Then it disappeared. Afterwards the Saviour came to me in the same way, but He remained longer. It was wonderful. Then He went slowly to the foot of my bed, looked at me once more, and disappeared. I had an obscure feeling of anxiety."

(Ill). "In reality I was in good health at the time; it was three months ago." (Ill in bed). "I felt myself ill and without strength. My inner being, my soul, was sick." (The angel). It had the face of the mother whom I have lost. It was as if it said, "You are going to rejoin me," as if I were soon going to die. I was sad at having fallen so low in consequence of a *liaison* and to have lost my faith. My mother was a pious believer." (Where was the angel at the beginning?) "At my side. It made the same gestures as my mother." (The Saviour). "Nothing." (His face). Five years ago I saw an unknown gentleman who had the same deep and gentle eyes. I never spoke to him, but I concluded that his interior life was a rich one. (His eyes). "My mother had a gentle look, too, but her eyes were of another colour. She, too, had a rich interior life." (The Saviour at the foot of the bed.) "It was in order to see me once more." She hid her face in her hands. "I don't like to think of this dream. (The farewell look). Sad, but loving and gentle. When I woke up I was afraid."

How are we to interpret this dream? This young girl was suffering from remorse. She had had three successive concubines, none of them with real love.

She refused posts which were offered her as being too humble; she believed that her vocation was to be an artist, but she found no place as such owing to her lack of training. I cannot stop to explain here why, with the obstinacy of a neurotic person, she sacrificed everything to this desire. In a word, she now wished to free herself from this contemptible situation. In her dream her mother appeared like a good angel to caress her child lovingly, and then disappeared with a last sad look. She seemed to invite her to Heaven, and the Saviour, taking on the features of the mother, did the same. The girl aspires to Him as to the One who will help her in the sickness of her soul, but her unconscious self wants to thrust Him away. Vice is stronger than the aspiration after salvation. She is on the verge of seeking death. The struggle between conscience, filial love and religion on the one hand, and evil voluptuousness on the other, ends in the victory of the latter, a dearly bought victory, as the anxiety and waking up testify. The conflict could not be settled in the dream, hence the flight into the waking state. A strong inhibition persisted.

In spite of her uneasy conscience the girl continued on her evil path another three months. Then, on the brink of prostitution, she came to see me and found freedom from her obsession regarding her profession and from her violent headaches, sublimation to an honest life and reconciliation with her family.

The following example shows the victory of the moral instincts in the dream itself. A hysterical woman of 22 had the following dream: "A crowd of persons crossing a stream by a footbridge. When I wanted to pass over myself the bridge had disappeared. A man wanted to lead me across the water. I was nearly at the other side when I heard a voice say that if I went with this man I should be in danger. I tore myself away, although he tried to hold me back, and returned. Then I went on my way alone. For a moment I thought I saw you, sir, but you disappeared. When I woke up, it took me some moments to convince myself that it was only a dream."

(A crowd of people, old and young, crossing the water) "They are not in any danger; only myself. That is the strangeness of it." (Water.) "Nothing." (The water). "I must not go there now. Very often I used to say that I would jump into the water." (The man) "Small, brunette, rather big moustache, I don't know him." A pause. "His face is that of my former fiancé, who wanted to seduce me. (There is something different from him in the dream, or I would have recognised him at once. What is it?) "His figure." (The figure of the man in the dream). "In our business there is a pleasant man whom I have known for ten years already."

"We have often conversed agreeably with one another in an innocent fashion." (Once more the figure of the man in the dream.) "Our packer, a bad fellow who is always running after me. The other day he was indecent towards me." (The other shore, lit up at night.) "Like the Lake of Zurich." (The Lake of Zurich.) "One evening when I had gone to the lake I returned to the station. Someone stole after me and suddenly kissed me. I sent him about his business. I was afraid." (The voice.) "It was yours, I am sure." (I continued my way alone.) "I felt calmer." (I saw you a moment.) "I thought you wanted to know what I would do afterwards. I looked for you an instant, then I thought I would know what I had to do." (Had anything important happened before the dream?) "Two days before, my neighbour had said I was 'a dear.' I was frightfully angry, but he invited me for Sunday. I refused because he looked sensual, and his looks disgusted me."

You see how the girl puts herself in a situation which is dangerous for her but not for others. She knows that her will is weak and defends herself against dangerous lovers. In her dream she longs for danger, but saves herself at the last moment by recalling the person of the analyst, and pursues her path without him. Her relations with the analyst thus appear to be normal, and the dream does not reveal any special

attachment to him. The moral conduct of the girl, be it said, is irreproachable.

Another dream problem which I should merely like to mention is the apparition of images which are to be met with in the thoughts of primitive peoples. There is no doubt that such exist. (Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 2nd ed., p. 185 *et seq.* Yearbook III., p. 588 *et seq.* Jung, Yearbook III. and IV.) But, as the interpretation of ancient symbols is somewhat uncertain (the serpent in the Old Testament sometimes means Jehovah, sometimes an evil divinity; among the Greeks it signifies health, death, the soul, the phallus), it is dangerous to attempt to interpret twentieth century dreams which one does not understand by means of Babylon, Siam, or the Boto-kudes. It would be explaining the unknown by what is still more unknown.

Up to now the influence of suggestion on the contents of the dream has not been sufficiently observed. Not only the dreams which have been suggested in the hypnotic state, but also all dreams are under the influence of suggestion. This was to be expected, seeing that they are expressions of volition. A comparison of the dreams recorded by various analysts is sufficiently convincing of this fact. The subjects of the one analyst have dreams which can only be interpreted sexually; those of another are occupied with problems of life. (Freud's *Introductory Lectures to Psycho-analysis*, p. 268.) It suffices to attach particular importance to this, that or the other element of an analysis in order to find it predominant in the dreams which follow. But it would be mistaken to exaggerate the importance of this observation. In purely scientific research carried out on willing subjects it is best to treat of the dreams of persons who know nothing of Freud and psycho-analysis. But even in the course of an analysis the contents of the dream are not determined solely by the will of the analyst or by involuntary suggestions. Rather does one find out the way in which the subject reacts towards the analysis, and frequently in opposition to the

analyst. Freud even goes so far as to say: "At the very best one can only suggest the subject of the dream (the person of whom one dreams), but not the contents (what one dreams)". And the dreamer always betrays a crowd of unconscious processes which we could not get to know in any other manner. It remains true, to speak with Freud, that a *cautious* analysis of dreams is the royal road to the conquest of the unconscious. Every day we learn when analysing that mysterious ill-humours, the return of symptoms which had already disappeared, new manifestations, etc., can only be explained by means of the dream.

2. *Manifestatory acts.*

I cannot here enter into details about those lapses and symptomatic acts,—frequently exceedingly droll,—by means of which the unconscious betrays itself. That which Vischer calls the malice of the object is rather the malice of the repressed. In his witty and humorous articles already, Hermann Lotze has spoken of the presence of psychic forces in dreams and in literary composition. (*Kleine Schriften*, III., p. 438 *et seq.*) By *lapses* we mean slips of the tongue, mistaking one word or thing for another, etc. Symptomatic actions are sometimes accidental, sometimes stereotyped. In the latter case they often become obsessional. Many people are not aware of the fact that they are constrained to perform some act only after having tried in vain to abstain from doing it.

The following gesture, as far as I know, betrayed an accidental lapse. A gentleman whose wife comes to me for advice told me once that he was going to see a cultured lady with whom he had had some very interesting conversations. While speaking, and without noticing what he was doing, he took off his wedding ring, a thing which he had never before done in my presence. Whoever observes such a thing once only attaches no further importance to it, considering this coincidence of conversation and gesture as accidental. But if the gesture repeats itself frequently one

is forced to recognise therein the indiscretion of the unconscious. In his "Psychopathology of Everyday Life," Freud relates that the great tragedienne Eleonore Duse imitates this gesture in a drama in which she plays the part of a woman who has a secret desire to rid herself of her matrimonial fetters. By joining my observations to those of Freud I cannot help thinking that this gesture of playing with the wedding ring has the character of a manifestation. (v. The Psycho-analytic Method, p. 388.)

A gesture which I was able to observe several times recently is that of persons who press against others in walking. There are persons who, when walking in company, press against their companions and push them to one side without noticing what they are doing. As far as I can observe, these are people who feel the need of psychic *rapprochement*, i.e., who feel themselves interiorly more or less isolated. Another example is that of people who frequently slip from the kerbstone. In those cases which I have studied these are persons who are exposed to a moral fall. They exhibit this figuratively and ought to be watched over. One of my lady subjects gave me the following pedagogic example. The lady next door consulted her about her twins. The boy is constantly picking his nose, and the girl is always biting her nails. Corporal punishment has proved useless. The mother anxiously inquired whether there were anything unpleasant behind it all. On questioning the mother it was discovered that the children still sleep in the same bed because they either cannot or will not sleep alone. After several vain attempts the children were allowed to sleep together. During the daytime they exhibit great tenderness towards each other. In bed they sometimes quarrel because the boy repulses the caresses of his sister. You can judge for yourselves whether the mother's fears are well founded or not.

It goes without saying that only a great number of observations can give certainty in these matters.

(f) *The necessity of psycho-analysis demonstrated by the theory of resistance and the principle of relation.*

We have now seen what incredibly sly means are employed by the repressed material in order to make at least a compromise with the conscious, and send a few cipher messages from the depths of its underground prison.

Let us return for a moment to the starting-point of our theoretical considerations. We learnt first of all to recognise the repressions in consequence of which an image or a desire sinks into the unconscious and remains fixed there. Every time that an analogous event happens or even one which recalls them only faintly, particularly in connection with the difficulties of life, regression takes place and the fixed image or desire profoundly influences the attitude of the moment. Hence Man is often a slave of the past owing to repression, even if he rebels violently against it and suffers greatly by it. The repressed commands the present volition in a large measure and, although unmasked, it imposes its will on the conscious. *But the repressed still remains hidden in its cell*; it does not exit into the conscious where it would be drawn into the current of ordinary psychic processes. No, it remains in its prison and exhibits itself as a determining life factor in later manifestations. Ghosts live to a great age.

Yesterday evening one of my auditors found in the course of conversation a happy comparison of the situation of those who are fettered by repressions. An inhabitant of the near village of Merligen wanted to cross the Lake of Thoune one foggy night. He rowed and rowed, but did not arrive at his destination. He thought he might have perhaps been rowing in a circle and redoubled his efforts. At dawn he saw to his consternation that he had forgotten to loosen the painter! Of course his boat had not budged from the spot where it was tied. Thus neurosis chains or ties down certain aspirations of Man, and whatever efforts he makes he remains paralysed, even if he does not perceive it himself. The rope of the boat must be untied.

It may well be asked whether these painful influences cannot be eliminated otherwise than by analysis. Let

us first consult our experiences and come to the theory afterwards! There are many symptoms which disappear without artificial help, such as the rites connected with walking, slight "tics," etc. Sometimes an effort of will is necessary; the subject makes up his mind to get rid of these absurd acts or other symptoms, and succeeds in doing so. Or perhaps the conflict which caused the repression is terminated, as, for instance, when the subject leaves the paternal roof. In this case the obstinacy of the unconscious is more easily overcome. The will affirmed by the conscious gets through without meeting with any other obstacle, and the symptom disappears.

Intentional suggestions, such as those exercised by Dubois, may also carry off the victory in cases in which other means have proved to be insufficient. A strongly accentuated thought, like "I am in good health and must remain in good health" may give the will a by no means negligible strength. That there is in manifestations a struggle between the conscious and the unconscious is not only seen by the compromises which they make, but also by the fact that numerous symptoms, as, for instance, hallucinations, are more frequent when the conscious is weakened,—when one is just going to sleep or is ill.

But the attempt to conquer the repressed by conscious pressure frequently fails. The psycho-neurosis persists without change in spite of the most strenuous and painful efforts, in spite of an unconquerable belief in the truth of suggestion. Or a new symptom replaces the old one. A short time ago I heard of a lady who was said to be a striking example of the cures effected by a psychiatrist who practises in Switzerland. He charges 1,000 francs a month for twenty-four sittings of three-quarters of an hour each, and, thanks to his bluff, he finds plenty of patients willing to pay him this sum. The treatment is about the same as that recommended by Dubois, but is trumpeted to the world as his own. The lady's husband was never tired of boasting of this magnificent "cure." He confessed, indeed, that there were some

“trifles” not yet satisfactorily disposed of. A few days after this conversation I received a letter from the lady who was supposed to be cured, in which she told me that she could no longer support life in her present state. Her neurotic anxiety had been replaced by obsessional neurosis, and this, as Ernest Jones says, is the most difficult to handle. I have myself often noticed these unprofitable exchanges after treatment by suggestion.

Even in cases in which a temporary cure has been effected, the unconscious which has been fettered for the moment may have painful results later on. That is why people are somewhat cool with regard to hypnotism, which was so popular not many years ago. Suggestion in the waking state exposes the patient to the same risks, yet it cannot be denied that some fine cures have been effected by its aid.

Psycho-analysis does not attempt simply to master the unconscious. It does not say: “*You can, for you must.*” Indeed, in many cases there is no strength, and the patient’s condition only gets worse because disappointment follows on the heels of the terrible efforts, and is added to the former suffering. What has to be done is to remove from the patient the weight that is oppressing him. In another place I have compared the difference between the pedagogics of the Old and the New Testament, and I still maintain this comparison. The Old Testament says: “Thou shalt: thou shalt not.” The New Testament says: “Thy sins are forgiven thee. Rise up and walk.” Or we may take another picture. A motor-car has broken down. The chauffeur pulls and pushes and risks an explosion by pouring in a maximum of essence. No use. A mechanic comes along and discovers that a pebble is lodged in the gear. It is removed and the car starts again. Does this picture correspond to reality? Let us take Freud’s theory of resistance as our starting point. According to him the motives which have determined the repression place themselves like guardians on the threshold of the conscious and prevent the return of the repressed. But in his

opinion (Ueber Psa., p. 20), that which has caused the repression is a motive which has had the full consent of the conscious, notably of moral or esthetic demands. Freud admits, however, that other conditions must be fulfilled in order to cause repression. (Ibid, p. 23.) Hence it may be conceded that there are other causes for maintaining the repression. I will do my best to contribute my mite to the solution of this problem.

As a rule, the motives which have determined a repression persist; for in general our moral judgments vary but little. There are, however, cases in which such motives disappear. We had a neat example, viz., the dislike of vinegar born of the thought: "I wish to know nothing of men." This thought was in its turn repressed in consequence of disagreeable experiences with a lover, fear of sexual things, and, perhaps, cwing to unpleasant scenes witnessed between the subject's parents. Yet the household was a happy one on the whole, and the girl herself soon began to form a more favourable idea of marriage. The dislike of sexual things disappeared and she made a normal love match. But, although the emotional images which had determined the repression have vanished, and although the hysterical lady has overcome her hostility to men, and loves her husband sincerely, the dislike to vinegar still remains.

I will try to give a picture of what Freud's idea of resistance is: That which is repressed is like a wooden ball which is held under the water so that it cannot float. If the hand is removed the ball immediately comes to the surface. If it does not, there must be other forces involved.

In most cases Freud's explanation suffices: the primitive motives of the repression persist. But this is not always the case. How are we to explain the permanence of phenomena which are often disagreeable, when the judgment that has caused them has been withdrawn? Let us start with some analogous observations which are easy to analyse. When we were children we used anxiously to avoid a small house

in which a witch was said to live. She was a woman who disliked children and used to frighten or excite them with her cries and threats. The more she withdrew from sight the more mysterious did she become, so that finally she assumed in our eyes the features of the witch in the old fairy tale of Hansel and Gretel, in spite of the fact that her house was not built of cakes. After the death of the "witch" there was certainly no reason for avoiding her house. Nor did we believe in ghosts; at least I did not. But we did not draw the correct conclusions from the death of the old woman, nor did we observe that it was her presence that had made the house an object to be avoided by us. Our *thoughts* avoided the mystery house, just as we ourselves had avoided it.

Another lack of reflection is manifested by the aversion to horse flesh which most of us have. The primary motive, a Papal prohibition, has long been forgotten; the effects of it remain.

We return for a moment to our example of the vinegar. We see that the dislike remained even after the motive of the repression had disappeared. The resistance to the knowledge of the repression and its motives still remained even after the knowledge had ceased to be painful. The witch's house remained mysterious because we had lost sight of the relation between our fear and its cause, namely, the witch. This was still more striking in the case of the vinegar. According to its custom, the repressed interrupted the normal association, the relation between the repressed, its causes and effects. The repressed remains hidden, like the pike in the bowl of carp, who keeps away from his prey because he no longer knows that the glass wall has been removed, and is under the impression that it is still there. Hence the repressed persists even when the repressing ideas have disappeared, as long as the associations between the repressed and the causes of the repression have not been established. These relations are frequently renewed without exterior intervention. The repressed penetrates into the current of normal psychic life and re-establishes its

natural connection with the rest of the conscious. Hence if one studies the dreams in such cases it will be found without exception that they take up the former fancies which were at the base of the morbid symptom, and elaborate them so as to satisfy the principle of relation already mentioned. By means of this elaboration or working up of the motivated ideas which are anchored in the mind, the power of the past disappears. Hence it is possible to cure slight forms of neurosis by suggestion, or when the interior conflict which has provoked them is overcome, or, again, when their origin is discovered. But when things do not happen thus, analysis is necessary for re-establishing the associations and re-attaching the relations between the repressed and the conscious. The elaboration of the past which is done unconsciously by the dream is done consciously by analysis and with greater clarity and determination; hence *analysis more certainly breaks the power of the past*. Analysis thus destroys the anachronism which makes us conceive the present as the past; it liberates the personality, and permits it to make free decisions according to the needs of the moment.

But it is not merely images or ideas of which the connection has to be re-established, but above all their emotional (affective) co-efficients that have to be withdrawn from the repressed and set up again in normal connection with the rest of the psychical life. At the very outset Freud emphasised this point by showing that the discovery of the disease itself (the *trauma*, to use his own term) was not enough, but that it was indispensable for this discovery to be accompanied by emotion, and that it was necessary to "ab-react," *i.e.*, to find an appropriate utilisation for the emotion. The re-establishment of the emotional relations is by no means accompanied by the re-establishment of the normal intellectual relations belonging to the same. Reason may perceive the connection, and yet the emotional repression obstinately remains. (Freud, *Internat. Zeitschr.* II., p. 491.) The subject of analysis sees for instance very clearly what culpable

wish has caused his illness, and his confession is far from being as painful to him as the sufferings he has undergone, perhaps for years, owing to the repression. And yet the instinct does not venture to follow the path traced out for it by reason. In this case the work must be continued and the resistance attacked by other means. Otto Rank and Hanns Sachs, (*The Importance of Psa. for Spiritual Science*, p. 105.) rightly say that our means of influencing the repressed are emotional rather than intellectual and are furthered by the patient's desire to be cured, together with his intellectual interest in the analysis. A dynamic factor must be found for overcoming the resistance which the patient opposes to the discovery of his repressions.

In many cases, as we have said, it is easy to direct the instincts into new channels as soon as the resistance of the first motive of repression has been overcome and the relations between the repressed and conscious life have been re-established. The conditions under which the one or the other is effected are still somewhat obscure.

The necessity of psycho-analysis is thus evident from what has been said. It shows the patient who is in the fetters of neurosis what unconscious thoughts are influencing him in an irrational manner, how these thoughts and desires have been able to penetrate into his unconscious, there to assume the power of an underground demon, what resistance is made to the changing of the unconscious thoughts into conscious thoughts, and the bases of this resistance. In this way analysis enables the patient to place his repressed ideas and tendencies into the right relation with the remainder of his aspirations and thoughts, it induces him to take up a reflective, deliberate attitude towards them. Before that, the struggle of his will against the symptoms was as useless as the attempt to chase away the reflection of the sun caused by water on a wall: closing the shutters would have done it,—but he did not know that!

In order to make myself perfectly clear I will formulate the task of psycho-analysis in yet another way.

This task is to liberate the patient from the inhibitions caused by repression, i.e., the repulsion of strongly emphasised ideas or representations into the unconscious which now influence his present conduct unfavourably. It is a matter of indifference whether the repression has been produced in the past by psychic conflicts (retention) or whether, after real or apparently normal development, the subject has been given over to these unconscious forces in consequence of some difficulty encountered in the recent past (repulsion). In both cases the balance must be re-established between past and present. The past must be taken into consideration because the present cannot be understood or grasped without it, and because under certain circumstances the past may make a mountain out of a molehill or transform a difficulty into inexorable fate. The past must be explained if it fetters our aspirations, otherwise we shall never succeed in freeing ourselves from it in serious cases. Even rabid attacks on the tyranny of the past by means of suggestion are useless in cases of violent repressions, and merely mean a regrettable waste of power, and torture to no purpose.

The repressed impulse is not amenable to reason and persists in its resistance to a rational mode of activity in conformity with reasonable thought and volition. It obstinately persists in manifesting itself symbolically, or makes uses of other detours which may injure moral health and life.

To be more precise : we must divide as follows the task of emancipating the subject from the disastrous effects of repression : I.—The neurotic symptom must be interpreted. The analyst must look for the meaning of the symptom, and the wish or wishes that it expresses. II.—The motives for the repression, together with their emotional co-efficients must be brought into touch with the conscious. This task comprises the following lines of procedure :

A. The present difficulties which have caused repression and the retreat into the unconscious must be discovered. Has any unhappy event occurred which recalls another and older one that has been repressed? Has a desire been excited which shows some resemblance to a former repressed one? Has an attractive task presented itself which reminds of a failure in pursuing the same object in infancy? Is there any exterior circumstance or actual state of things which is analogous to unhappy circumstances in the past? The answer to these questions and others of a similar nature must be carefully considered. But they will lead the attentive observer to many another problem. It is impossible to understand the form of regression and submission to repression manifested by neurotic patients with the aid of the present alone. Hence the analyst will also interrogate the past.

B. The motives coming into conflict at the time when the repression took place must be looked for. They may possibly even now be resisting the subject's knowledge of his repression and his normal instinctive activities.

C. Indications must be given whether the obstacles which resist the normal functions of the instincts procure the patient a conscious gain. In the case of several subjects, neurotics in consequence of accident for instance, the gain obtained by the illness, the unintentional origin of which is mostly unconscious, plays an important part. Our readers are referred to Spitteler's amusing poem, "The Health Resort," in which a nervous lady finds peace after losing her fortune. "Farewell, O happy nervous time, goodbye to lucre and its chime; the "cure" is now completed!" III.—The normal associations between what is repressed and the rest of conscious life must be re-established. This is done by bringing the indications recorded under A., B., C., etc., under the lamp of criticism. That which is repressed is separated from the conscious sphere as long as it has not been illuminated and elaborated by the conscious; as long as its sense and true value have not been recognised,

the patient cannot be freed. He must be made to see that the repression was a psychological necessity, but that continuance in the same is neither legitimate nor necessary. He must be made to understand for example, that owing to a stern education, devoid of affection, his love has been repulsed and become introverted, but that the path is now free and open, seeing that all men are not hard and loveless, and that the love energy which is now expressed by symptoms must necessarily be directed into new channels in a rational manner for fear of their becoming injurious. In this way the subject will take up a reflective attitude towards these hidden forces and finally succeed in mastering them. Very often this settling of accounts takes place without further ado immediately after the repressions have been brought to light, but it is also often indispensable to formulate this in express terms and to return to it over and over again before one can be sure that the conscious has assimilated what was repressed.

The first of the enumerated tasks is the *interpretation*; the second the analysis of the resistances in the narrow sense of the word, or the *casual reduction*; the third is the *establishing of the relation* with the normal current of the conscious. The first research answers the question: "What does the symptom mean?" The second: "From what present or past motives does it spring, and in what way does it profit the patient?" The third: "In what direction must the instinctive energies which are spent on the symptom be turned?"

The work of psycho-analysis may be compared with that of the gardener who does not merely attempt to stimulate the growth of his trees by manuring the soil, but removes the rotten wood, cuts the branches in order to give them new life, and brings the sleeping buds to bloom.

No analysis ever succeeds in discovering all the meanings of a symptom, for symptoms are inexhaustible. Nor is it possible to find in detail all the motives of repression, to bring to light all the satisfaction

obtained, all the worries which one has been spared, or to assign to all the repressed thoughts the place which is theirs in conscious thought. There often remains something which must be overcome by conscious volition or with the help of suggestion. This victory often implies a moral struggle, for instance, the sacrifice of some low pleasure of an inferior order, of a vengeance, of idleness resulting from weakness. But this time the energy is extended in the right direction, whereas it was directed before the analysis to the symptom instead of to its cause, and was consequently doomed to failure. It is a great mistake to imagine that analysis can do away with the moral struggle: it can only direct it to the front where the enemy is. In my opinion it is not correct in every case to speak of a sacrifice, if by sacrifice a painful renouncement is meant. For very often the realisation of the program of life which is recognised as a duty or a permissible tendency is bound up with such paramount advantages that unpleasant renouncements do not come into account.

But we nevertheless insist on the fact that the analysis must not be broken off too soon and free play given to suggestion or volition. Those who do so because, like C. G. Jung, they believe that it is only a lazy opposition to the demands of life which keep the subject ill, entirely misunderstand the psychological connection, the nature of "what is repressed," the principle of the establishment of relations. They almost fall back on the level of the suggestive treatment that existed before analysis, with its painful efforts and frequently so useless torments. By committing this mistake practical work is made considerably more complicated, as I have been clearly convinced by a great number of observations of the works of others, and by my own researches.

III. THE PRACTICE OF PEDANALYSIS.

1. *The principles of psycho-analytic interpretation.*

As we have only to show what psycho-analysis offers the educator, we shall not stop to consider its practice. Nevertheless the benefits to be obtained will depend to a great extent on the correct application of Freud's methods. I therefore refer those who wish to know more about the subject to my chief work, and confine myself to a few supplementary remarks, referring expressly to Freud's important advice as to the practice of psycho-analysis. (Intern. Zeitschr. f. ärztl. Psa. II & III.)

I mention one or two important principles which in my experience are frequently sinned against. The first is :

The interpretation must be simple and sober. It is a well-known scientific principle that where there is a choice of several explanations the simplest should be preferred. Without this norm the most complicated constructions would be put on the most ordinary events. In the example of the savant who dreamt that he was a suckling I showed the number of arbitrary interpretations which can be arrived at if one leaves the path of simplicity and sobriety. Far be it from us, then, to over-interpret except when the associations of the subject analysed compel us to ! Dreams have, as we have shown, various layers, but we can never descend into the lowest depths, for the further one removes from the dream fragments and the associations connected therewith, our only reliable data, the more hazardous does the interpretation become. Hence we shall avoid such interpretations of dreams as make use of analogies with ancient symbols. It is better to have solid ground under one's feet than to

trust oneself to the airship of the imagination. Like the man of science and the mathematician, the analyst, too, has need of imagination, but he will take care not to adventure further than is absolutely necessary. And if one meets with a dream that one cannot interpret, it is no great misfortune. It happens to the best interpreter of dreams, if he takes care not to give too much rein to his imagination. The interpreters of dreams at royal courts were able to interpret every one, and they knew why. Hence we must not be ashamed of failure to interpret a dream or two. But we too must know why: it is because the resistance of the subject is too great for him to be able to supply us with the associations which we need.

The second claim made on the interpreter is that of thoroughness. In order to attain this we shall gather all the associations possible for those parts of the dream which are not perfectly clear, carefully looking for the principal theme around which the different images and associations of the dream are grouped. I consider it a grave mistake to commence interpreting a dream before it has been enriched by all the associations, in every case when the signification of the whole is not evident at the outset. By giving an interpretation at once all the later associations are influenced. The point of the dream is the main thing, even if reminiscences of former events are important. During the gathering of the associations all attempts at interpretation are forbidden the subject under analysis. But we must not ourselves fall into the same error.

Another necessary condition is caution in generalisation. If an image has the same symbolical value several times, this does not mean that it always has the same signification.

Is it permissible to call psycho-analysis a science? The answer to this question depends on the manner in which analysis is carried out, and what is meant by "science." If we attempt to complicate the simplest explanations by artificial over-interpretations, if we wish to extract a "program of life" from every dream, if we call primitive folklore and the world of

mythology (so difficult to penetrate) to our aid, then, of course, we can make but little claim to the name of science. This is the explanation of the words of Maeder (if we are to believe the Journal of Swiss Physicians) that we are still at the mythological stage of psycho-analysis. But if we are cautious in our methods, as so many are, we may apply Paulsen's words about pedagogics to psycho-analysis: "If we define science as the name for systems of general and necessary truths, pedagogics can naturally lay no claim to the name of 'scientific.' Mathematics alone would fit in with the definition, but not even physics and chemistry; physiology, geography, and history and philology still less. But if by science we mean, as we do in the usual language of the present, a comparatively complete totality of facts, observations, problems and researches, pedagogics undoubtedly come under this heading." (Pedagogics, p. 2.) No competent person will deny that on the basis of psycho-analytic experience a quantity of laws have been established and confirmed innumerable times, and that psycho-analysis has enabled us to acquire much knowledge of a general and incontestable value.

2. *General practice of psycho-analysis.*

We have assigned to psycho-analysis the task of liberating the personality from inhibitions produced by repression as a consequence of painful impressions either in the present or the past. We have further seen that this task can only be accomplished by (1) interpretation of the symptoms, (2) by bringing into the consciousness all the old and new causes of the repression which are still in operation, *i.e.*, what we have called resistance, (3) by the investigation of the advantages which the patient gains from his neurosis, and (4) by bringing the repressed element into the current of conscious mental life. It is only after all this has been accomplished that the symptom may be said to be analysed.

At the beginning psycho-analysis attempted to analyse each symptom separately. This is successful

in simple cases, just as one can also interpret the majority of dreams up to a certain point and satisfy ordinary psychological curiosity by bringing them back to the conflict by which they were produced, without taking into account the life of the personality as a whole. In this way splendid cures are often effected which remind one of miraculous ones.

And yet Freud saw that in complicated cases no result is obtained simply by attacking the symptom which has to be removed. Even with regard to particular symptoms, we have been compelled to consider them organically. Strictly speaking there are no absolutely isolated symptoms. There are always several, often indeed an extraordinary agglomeration from which a whole series of anomalies may be disengaged. But however far removed from each other they may seem to be on the surface, essentially they are a whole. And just as there is no serious sexual inhibition without a disturbance of self-esteem, and no unhealthy restriction of freedom without distinct traces in the sphere of love, there is no symptom that does not show some relation to all the others. For this reason we may be sure that every dream (and the dream is invariably a product of repression) is important for the interpretation of the symptoms in as far as it explains a personal conflict. Hence we consider every symptom as a reaction of the whole of the personality and not merely as a partial psychic process. It is only by taking into consideration the totality of life that we obtain a right conception of the meaning of the individual symptom. We educators welcome this state of things with great satisfaction. It is thanks to this that many a bodily disease has furnished us with the opportunity of healing moral troubles which were caused by the same repressions.

When a symptom is too deeply anchored, its profoundest motives cannot be attained directly, and the repressed masses of energy, particularly the emotional ones, cannot be brought to light in such a way as to effect a cure. In this case our efforts are directed more energetically to perceiving the resistance and the

neurotic gain. Freud is therefore right in having abandoned the individual symptoms in order to concentrate his attention on this point.

But how is it to be done? It is simple enough. You analyse what comes: dreams, symptomatic actions, erroneous interpretations of what the analyst has said, striking questions of the subject under analysis, etc. If there are no dreams, excellent progress can be made with seemingly nonsensical words or drawings. (The Psycho-analytic Method, p. 368.) But everything leads to the central problem, the arrestation of personality by repressed forces. These forces, the so-called resistances, are eliminated and subjected to the criticism of consciousness. But it requires great patience, for insistence only increases the resistance. Freud rightly says: "The patient must have time to plunge into the resistance which is now no longer unknown to him, in order to work upon it and overcome it, and to continue with the analysis until the repressed instincts which feed the resistance are brought to light." (Intern. Zeitschr. f. Ps. II., p. 491.)

During the whole of this work it is indispensable to keep one's eye on a peculiar phenomenon the correct treatment of which is of great importance for ultimate success. I refer to the so-called *transference*. By this is meant the following: The tendencies which have been made conscious during the analysis are attached to the person of the analyst, are projected towards him. If these tendencies are friendly they are called positive; if the contrary, negative. Here we have a compensation which the instinct has procured for itself after having been driven from its hiding place. The analyst is the nearest person to the subject under analysis, therefore he chooses him as the object of his feelings. Transference is likewise a phenomenon of regression, for something is revived in it which once was living and had sunk into the depths.

Great care must be taken in cases of transference, otherwise the analyst will become the object of an exaggerated and puerile esteem which he will have

to expiate later on; or of hate, passion, etc. The subject makes claims on the analyst which are unjustifiable and frequently absurd or impertinent, to which the latter cannot respond. The analysis is interrupted; the subject runs away in anger, or his emotional life remains so strongly bound up with his analyst that he is incapable of self-government. He plays the pedagogue all sorts of tricks meant for his unloved father, his awkward and weak teacher, his narrow-minded mother or other persons once of importance to him. Transference always results in a confusion of persons.

Hence the transference may easily be the rock on which an analysis is wrecked, and its settlement is generally recognised as being the most difficult part of analysis. This phenomenon, by the way, is encountered in all methods of education and treatment. Who does not know of the hatred with which neurotic pupils will, without rhyme or reason, pursue a teacher who wishes them well? Who does not know of patients who remain attached to a physician of the old school who has never been distinguished for any remarkable cure?

But transference is also of great utility, provided that we know how to profit by it. There are two reasons for this: It frequently happens that the repression is first manifested by the transference. An observation, a bodily peculiarity, a characteristic trait of the analyst awakens a remembrance in the subject, puts a fragment of his repressed life in motion and urges it to manifest itself towards his analyst, for instance, in the shape of a dream in which the latter plays a certain part, or in a trick played upon him, a flattery, etc. There need be no grounds for surprise if the relations with the analyst take some time in again becoming normal. The little door of transference is often the way out of prison for the neurotic person.

Another reason for the value of transference is the fact that the analyst becomes of paramount importance for the new orientation of the subject. He himself is a

part of reality. If he succeeds in gaining his subject's confidence it will be easier to lead him to greater sympathy with other realities. The analyst becomes, so to speak, the first plank of the bridge which will lead the patient safely to the other side of the precipice, to fully conscious life. That is why Jesus Himself did not disdain to become the object of feelings of this kind, but He took care to utilise them by guiding them beyond Himself to God, one's brethren and the real self.

How is the phenomenon of transference to be treated? We must analyse it in whatever shape it may present itself. Negative tendencies fall to the ground when the subject recognises that the analyst is not the person meant. The fictitious elements of a positive transference cease to exist; the analyst loses the sympathy which was meant for others, but his own proper value is recognised and amiable relations are developed which lend the subject courage to give up his gains as a sick person and to lend himself to valuable sublimations without falling into puerile dependence or misplaced passion. The subject progresses by the aid of friendship. But the fact must not be forgotten that all this passion and friendship merely represent a revival of infantile sympathy, which, it is true, is often greatly altered.

Thus we see that the analysis of transference serves to remove the defect of normal relations caused by repression between the repressed element and consciousness.

Transference is only a new symptom produced by the analysis, but it is one which is immediately purified. There are, indeed, often enough new symptoms produced in which the instinct, deprived of the unhealthy activity which it had enjoyed up to then, looks for new channels. These symptoms often have the effect of an aggravation, and beginners are frequently frightened when they encounter them. But those who have acquired deeper knowledge know that these new formations usually represent progress. Nevertheless, if one has to deal with a person who is

really ill, a physician should immediately be consulted. The discovered instinct might, for example, threaten to become more deeply introverted. But as a rule the new symptom, which is easy to remove, marks an indispensable transition. Even in surgery and the treatment of pulmonary disease it often happens that there is at first an apparent aggravation of the malady after the salutary operation or the change of altitude. Consequently the analyst must not be afraid if he becomes aware of an increase of old, or the formation of new, symptoms.

For some time I have been inducing my subjects who are capable of doing so to recapitulate in writing the most important contents of our interviews. It is striking to discover the grave misunderstandings which are always being produced. The analysis of these errors, which are, of course, the result of repressions, is very important. And I also make my subjects take up a critical attitude towards everything new that has come to light during the analysis. I ask: "What do you say about this wish that just spoke out of the depths of the unconscious? Where is the anchor of the resistance to the normal utilisation of the instinct?" etc. In this way the subject under analysis is all the more impressed by the fact that he is himself primarily responsible for his cure and is collaborating in his own emancipation. Nevertheless, transference is a necessary lever for analytic education.

The close of each analysis is a number of dreams, the interpreted desires of which have only to be registered, so that a harmonious relation is established between the conscious and the unconscious. But it is well to demand certain controlling reports. If the analysis, for some reason or other, cannot be carried through to the end, it often happens that the last morbid symptoms are overcome by the will of the patient. When an analysis has had to be interrupted for certain reasons, as a journey, for instance, I have often observed that a complete and lasting cure had been effected by its means.

3. *The analysis of emancipation and orientation.*

It can never be too often repeated that the task of psycho-analysis consists in emancipating inhibited instincts which have to be considered as a detention in the unconscious, *i.e.*, in the infantile, or as a relapse into an unconscious past which ought long ago to have been overcome. Its object is to remove these inhibitions and regressions and to conquer these anachronisms.

But we must not overlook the fact that we rarely have to do with a pure regression in the manifestations of the unconscious, *i.e.*, dreams and lapses. Even when, in face of a difficult task, a long-past experience again makes its appearance, it is one which expresses a bold attack on the problem to be solved and suggests to the dreamer: "It is once again as it was in the time when you ventured on this or that." If the vital will is broken the regression is then an absolute one: the man who is tired of life longs to be back again, perhaps in his mother's womb or in Mother Earth, not to be born again, however, as Jesus wished (St. John, III., 3), but to remain there. Most of the time, however, we withdraw to the past in order to make a step forward after having reflected over our past experiences. For, according to the principle of relation, we cannot emancipate ourselves from the past before we have "had it out" with it.

That is why a tendency directed towards the future is bound up with regression. The dream, which presents the realisation of unconscious desires, does not only contain a desire towards what existed formerly, it also represents at the same time something new which, indeed, is in relation with past events (for in later life there are no absolutely new desires), and goes above and beyond them. The dream of the young girl in moral distress was no doubt a result of the fact that during her childhood her loving mother was often near her bed, but it also aimed at moral help in the present danger, as is shown by the person of the Saviour.

The majority of dreams aim at the future, and if in the case of neurotic people regression and the sway of the past are stronger than in the case of normal persons, we must not overlook their progressive intention and preoccupation with the future. But this does not imply that we can forcibly extract a "life program" from every dream.

What are we to do with interpretations expressing a desire directed towards the future? Can we be sure that this desire arising from the depths of the unconscious shows us the forces in their true light, the most powerful aspiration of the subject, that which responds to his nature in all its integrity? Can we consider the voice of the unconscious as a sort of divine voice? Is the tendency of the unconscious the sole valuable factor in Man? There are some so-called analysts who are so far from understanding the true sense of analysis that they have lost themselves in a veritable worship of the unconscious, and reject intellectual criticism as empty rationalism. I must categorically deny the value of such an exaggerated esteem of the unconscious, such a disfiguration of sensible and logical reason. As a theologian I am certainly aware of the dangers of empty rationalism, but I am likewise aware of the fact that giving way to the obscure voices of the heart leads to intolerable aberrations which must be condemned in every respect. I can judge unconditional subordination to subliminal ideas with mildness only in the light of a reaction against the conception of the unconscious as something infantile, barbarian and primitive.

Let us consult the facts. Do they really demonstrate that the wishes which arise out of the unconscious are so solidly and deeply anchored in the depths of personality that they can be taken as rules of conduct and as the basis of important decisions? We have already shown above that suggestion can have great influence on the contents of a dream. I once analysed a young man whose dreams sometimes expressed the desire to marry soon in his present social situation, and sometimes that of continuing his studies. As soon as

the criticism of the dream had given rise to scruples against the present desire, a new dream came to accentuate the other desire. This would have been comical enough if it had not awakened a bad impression of the reliability of the unconscious aspirations. I have often, in people I have analysed, observed a desire obstinately arise which would have led to a catastrophe if the subject had given way to it.

It is only in harmonious characters that we find complete agreement between conscious thought and the manifestations of the unconscious, the guarantee that the dream has behind it the totality of the forces of the personality. But then it is not necessary to dream in order to know how to act.

It must be understood that every decision must have passed under the control of reasonable and conscious thought. But it by no means follows that each decision must necessarily be the result of a reflection, as psychologically false rationalism and intellectualism claim. Nobody can or must be analysed to such a point that the work of the unconscious stops. Good analyses do not do away with the inspiration of the artist, religious experience and all that which arises out of the unconscious as a sublime creation of the human mind. It is only that which is false, puerile and absurd in the unconscious which is eliminated by analysis, and who would be sorry for it? I would at once stop analysing if I thought that my subjects would degenerate into citizens without ideals, or dried up "intellectuals." Up to now I have observed nothing but an ennobling sublimation of the unconscious aspirations.

What, then, are we to do with the dreams in which desires touching the future are manifested? The question is easy to answer: We shall put these desires, discovered by the interpretations of the manifestations, into relations with our conscious reason in which the tendencies to, and the feelings of duty, reason and conscience make their decisions. If we find that there is agreement between them, the desire deserves our full approval and will be strengthened thereby.

But what are we to do if the desire shows itself to be unreasonable, injurious, unhealthy, ugly or vulgar? Are we simply to reject it? And if it obstinately returns in the manifestations, or if a healthy and useful tendency is constantly repressed, are we to conquer the resistance by means of suggestion, preaching to our subject to aspire to such and such an object, to force his unconscious to form this or that desire? That would lead to a painful pressure which is often a useless one as well, and which would be all right if the subject were merely a lazy person bent on opposing the demands of his inner self. But this not being the case, such proceedings are merely a relapse into the methods existing before psycho-analysis, a giving up of Freud's most precious discoveries, which would be infinitely deplorable. Unfortunately there are only too many cases which prove that these fears are confirmed. What use is it to preach incessantly: "You must introvert much more. You ought not to separate feeling and commonsense. You ought not to isolate sight and thought from each other!" This is merely torturing the subject to no purpose, and the progress made is as slight and uncertain as that of any other method of suggestion.

The true manner in which to obtain a correct attitude towards life is very different. We have often explained it: Emancipate from the bonds of the past. Try to find the resistances, *i.e.*, the motives which led to the repression in the first instance, and the unpleasant factor which is now driving to the slavery of repression. Find out what gain the patient believes he is getting from his illness. Renew the proper relations between the repressed and the conscious. If this harmony does not exist, it is because there still remains resistance to the normal instincts which has to be made conscious by analysis. The past must be continually reviewed, and the analysis of future projects must help to discover the unconscious desires which are anchored in the past.

However, analysis will never succeed in discovering all the events which caused repression. There are no

absolute analyses. Some of the repressed images must finally be overcome by the conscious will. The strength added by analysis to the conscious will is often so great that the subjugation of some small residue frequently passes unnoticed. The stomach pump always leaves a tiny residue in the stomach, and this residue must be tolerated and assimilated as it is by the organism. In the same way, the psychic organism must master a residue of the repressed. We must not lose sight of the facts of the successes gained by suggestion without the help of analysis. Analysis comes to the aid of suggestion. After having analysed only a fragment we frequently reach our goal by suggestion, where formerly with the latter by itself we should have failed. The reason is that part of the bonds are already loosened by the analysis and, thanks to the analytical knowledge acquired, the forces of suggestion is directed towards the point where the subject has most need of it, the real cause—instead of making for a secondary symptom, the treatment of which leads to nothing. But, as I have already said, we must be on our guard against premature suggestion and painful pressure. Many good results may be compromised thereby.

Exterior difficulties which increase resistance should be removed beforehand or as soon as necessity arises. For instance, a son who is suffering from the tyranny of his parents should be removed from home; a school-boy suffering at the hands of hard and exacting teachers should be taken away and put in a more suitable environment where he can make a proper use of his strength.

Freud has never maintained that psycho-analysis alone can always effect a cure. He has never opposed a combination of his methods with other proceedings, provided always that the application of the analysis is not disturbed. In slight cases he even approves of a purely suggestive treatment. (*The Psa. Method*, p. 442.) But premature suggestion prepares the way for disappointment and makes the pedagogic task more difficult.

I would like to impress this on your memory by a little anecdote. It was during a voyage to the East. I sat in the stern of the boat admiring the zodaic light. Suddenly the snorting of the machine and the gurgling of the water were broken into by angry cries for help. Willing souls sprang from every side to give their assistance, and were witnesses of a comic scene. A corpulent middle-aged gentleman was stuck fast in the window of his cabin without being able to get either backwards or forwards. "Help me to get out of this confounded pickle!" he cried. All attempts to pull him through were useless. "You must exert yourself," said the quarterdeck officer; "he who wishes to do a thing and tries to do it will certainly succeed." The unhappy man in the narrow opening turned and twisted and strained his muscles to the utmost with many groans and moans. But it was of no use; he was a prisoner to his own corpulence. Then the worthy chaplain took up the word: "Asceticism, asceticism, my dear sir, that is what you want. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for you to get through that window with your corpulence." "You look after your own needles!" cried the infuriated man, dropping his exhausted arms. The captain then came in person and grasped the whole situation with malicious eye. "What do you want to do, sir?" he asked. "Must you absolutely go through the window?" "I want to get out!" roared the other, "out of this confounded vapour bath." "Well, calm yourself," said the captain, "if you want to get out, is that the proper way?" "I've lost my key, I can't find it in my trouser pocket, and there isn't a locksmith on board." Whereupon the captain replied: "Think for a moment. Is there no more practical way?" "Force the door?" asked the stout man. "If you think that is the best thing, do it; put your back to it." A few minutes later the door began to crack and to bend outwardly. But it still resisted, and the owner of the cabin appeared at the window with a disappointed mien and rubbing his shoulders. Then the doctor appeared on the scene and heard of the tragi-

comedy which was going on. He put in his spoke. "However did you get into this fix?" he asked. "Did you have your key when you entered?" "Certainly," growled the prisoner, who was getting distrustful. "Well, where might it possibly be? Think over what may have happened." "I first lay down on my sofa and began to read." "And then?" "Then. . . oh, yes, I was too hot, and undressed." "Where did you put your clothes?" "First I threw them on my bunk, and then, when I got into it myself, on to the chair." "Well, begin by looking into these places," said the doctor. There was a cry of triumph and the liberated prisoner came out to shake hands with his benefactor, who had helped him to get out of the difficulty himself.

Here you have in a parable a picture of the various proceedings. The first officer made use of the suggestive method of Dubois with his appeal to the concentration of will; the chaplain tried the ascetic method and the captain the psychagogic, which looks for the "program of life" in the manifestations and, if there are no counter reasons, gets keenly to work inflamed by auto-suggestion and the authority of others. Finally, the doctor made use of real analysis, which tries to discover the causes and fill up the hiatus in the memory. This retrospective analysis must never be neglected if one does not wish to become the victim of those projects for the future which often depend on injurious suggestions, and the realisation of which is not yet in the power of the man still fettered by the bonds of the past.

Hence the analysis of orientation, *i.e.*, that analytic activity which keeps in view a correct attitude towards reality, must always take into consideration the influence of the past, so as to be able to emancipate the subject entirely from it. The analysis of orientation without analysis of emancipation, that is to say without settling accounts with the past, is an absurdity.

4. *The place of psycho-analysis in general education.*

As a purely psychological method psycho-analysis

can be adapted to any moral background and may be practised by Mahometans, Jews, Christians, pagans, atheists, the just and the unjust, the good and the bad.

But it is obvious that the educator employs analysis for a particular moral purpose. This purpose has already been indicated in these lectures, namely, emancipation from the unhealthy inhibitions which have their origin in the unconscious powers of the soul, and their subjugation to the dominion of the moral personality. When we established this fact we saw at the outset that psycho-analytic education must be subordinated to general pedagogics. Freud neither will nor can supply us with the bases of education. He is a medical man and leaves everybody to form his own conception of the world and of life. He does not feel himself called upon to give Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, etc., their particular confession of faith. Sick people do not want him to do this either. But we educators cannot, when analysing, forget our moral bearings.

When interpreting the manifestations it is obvious that the moral judgment must not intervene, for the essential thing is to determine what is, and not what ought to be. But afterwards, when it is a question of adapting to conscious life the forces which have been discovered, pedagogic purposes play an important part.

Every analysis frees a great number of forces which were fettered till then, and for which new channels must now be found. It is obvious that the analyst must not promote himself to the post of commander of his pupil, but he should guide him towards a happy and morally useful life both from the social and individual point of view. Physicians often envy us the plastic "material" which comes under our hands. It is much easier to effect the sublimation, the noblest result of analysis, in the case of a child than in that of a person who has long been following a path of vice and vulgarity before consulting a medical man. It is evident, is it not, that we shall make as free a use of our privilege as possible? We are fully

conscious of our terrible responsibility. In our eyes the healthy man is not merely he who has been cured of morbid symptoms by his doctor, but he whom we may also consider as morally healthy. And if we could do nothing better than in emancipating neurotic persons from their pathological symptoms without helping them in the development of their character, we might as well leave the practice of analysis to medical men. It is only because moral slavery is concealed behind nervous phenomena and because there is educational work to be done, that we devote ourselves to psycho-analysis.

If the nobility of our task makes it more difficult than that of the physician we must not forget that even quite apart from the plasticity of our subjects we have great advantages. I do not hesitate to declare that a healthy, moral and religious conception of life—which, moreover, is an indispensable and beneficial support—is the most powerful auxiliary of analytic education. Psycho-analysis possesses profoundly moral principles which alone coarse and cynical men can soil: the emancipation of instinctive forces removed from conscious personality, the destruction of illusions which sometimes make the whole of life a lie, the spiritualisation of the personality, the intransigent care for truth of an upright soul which only aspires to see itself as it really is. Who would dare to deny the moral character of these demands? Life nobly conceived as the reign of moral ends, also opens to neurotic people broad horizons which are a powerful stimulant to their aspirations towards liberty, direct the best forces of their personality towards emancipation by means of analysis and open up for them a life which leads from dreams and neurosis to the world of realities. In a fine study on the value of psycho-analysis for morals and religion, Johannes Nohl writes enthusiastically: "Have we not here discovered a new religious element suited to give us an easier understanding of the words 'Know thyself' and of moral life? Nobody who has not gone through it personally can imagine what capital experience is represented by

a first and well-conducted analysis. At first it seems to the subject quite incomprehensible that all the complicated and painful associations of his unconscious procure him ease, that his breast expands with joy as it does when one again sets foot on solid ground after a long and dangerous journey. Everywhere fetters are broken, walls crumble and mountains disappear like clouds of dust. Psycho-analysis becomes a source of strength and courage by the recognition of the fact that we are all richer than we suspect, richer in talents and in experiences of the beautiful, the good and the true; that all illumination is absorbed and stored up as if by some wonderful crystal. But the seriousness of our human mission demands that the key to these luminous depths shall only be found in absolute truthfulness, and that we shall impart value and meaning to our personal existence only in proportion as we desire to be among the living." (Schweizerland, 1916, p. 329.) These words of Nohl's are not merely enthusiastic phrases, but are based on authentic experience, and I cannot conceal my joy that such words should be spoken to-day. Since making acquaintance with the principles of psycho-analysis in 1908 I have practised it only in view of those moral aims which my calling had made known to me as the purest and highest. For many years I stood almost apart, tolerated kindly by psycho-analysts, covered with opprobrium and sarcasm by the enemies of psycho-analysis. To-day I see that on all sides it is dawning on people that analysis is not only fruitful for morals, but that a deeply moral conception of life is indispensable to psycho-analysis. Marcinovski, in particular, has emphasised the moral character of psycho-analysis in a series of excellent articles.

When the moral demands of life immediately give a salutary employment to the psychic forces liberated by psycho-analysis, their transference to the analyst takes on a much less unpleasant character. I knew a lady who had been analysed during several years, but who had become attached to an analyst who had persuaded her to give up social activity. By pointing

out to her the manner of these moral compensations I was able to cure her. A moral diversion of the instincts sometimes also avoids new morbid symptoms during the period of transition.

The same may be said of religion. A healthy religious conception, and the assurance of the existence of God are a great support for the efforts of the analyst. How many religious persons whom I have analysed have assured me that the thought of God has helped them during the analysis! The sole assurance that God favours the upright, that truth is always, ultimately, a benefit to life, and untruth a hindrance, stimulates the will to open confession. The expectation of divine grace which pardons even the gravest sins after sincere repentance is a distinct encouragement. The Christian ideas of divine fatherhood and the love of God are a powerful support for those who run the risk of loving nobody owing to an unhappy love affair of their own, and in the struggle against the depressing feeling of one's own inferiority. Confidence in God's help consoles and fortifies the man who has to pass from the world of neurosis to that of sombre realities with their terrifying moral demands. The gigantic fight of Jesus against a servile attachment to His parents, the part of a father as final judge, which He has assigned to God (Mark III., 21, 31; Matthew X., 21, 35; XIX., 5 and 29; XXIII., 9; Luke IX., 60; XIV., 26), the absolutely free piety which He claims,—all this is inexpressibly beneficial to those (and their name is legion) who have almost succumbed to the servile observation of the commandment: "Honour thy father and thy mother." The idea, exempt from prudery, which Jesus gives of marriage as a divine institution meriting respect even in its natural aspect (Matthew XIX., 5), performs great service to the numerous victims of false education and of a sexual repression which is as injurious from the moral as from the hygienic point of view. The domain of religious ideals offers admirable opportunities of sublimations which do not avoid reality, but on the contrary bring back to it purified

energies in rich measure. Religion reveals a world of duty, a field of activity. Without religion the vital impulse of a number of people would be forced on morally dangerous paths capable of bringing about new complications. Everybody does not attain to this religious attitude. C. J. Jung has said: "Religion is an integral part of every soul that is not crippled." This much may be said: A large number of atheists who had put aside faith in God as something *passée* and superfluous, particularly several medical men, have learnt to appreciate anew the grandeur of religion in taking up psycho-analysis. And this not only for motives of utility and as a help in their work, but through a deeper conception of life; and have again made the Gospels the lamp of their days. And just as a healthy piety prevents a large number of morbid repressions, in the same way does it contribute, if employed suitably and wisely, to the ennobling and accelerating of analytic education. In many cases it is only during the last stages of the researches that we are able to appeal to piety, because it is only then that the sick soul is capable of understanding it. But when religious forces with a moral value (and all religious forces have not such a moral value) are existent they render the educator inestimable service from the very outset.

I have not once perceived that healthy piety has lost anything of its depth owing to analysis. I have often seen hysterical enthusiasms without moral force, narrow and anxious attachment to ancient dogmas, fear founded on feebleness and quite contrary to the spirit of the Gospels, with regard to the letter of the Bible or the precepts of the church,—all these I have, indeed, seen fall to pieces. But I was glad to see these things wrecked, because I have always seen them replaced by a religious sentiment of greater value from the point of view of the Gospels, by a religion which imparted fresh strength for facing daily realities. Analysis always aims at getting away from dreams to reality, it gives to piety a joyful, living and

courageous character; it lays stress on the love of one's neighbour.

Up to now the attitude of pedagogics to psycho-analysis has been that of a mother who is not too fond of her newly-born child because it gives her too much trouble. But when she sees it growing strong and sturdy and able to help her in her task, she will take it into her arms with eyes shining with joy, and will kiss its forehead. Perhaps the day is not far distant when pedagogics will give psycho-analysis this kiss of love and thankfulness!

Psycho-analytic education may be considered as complete when the psychological conditions which permit of the application of general pedagogics to the subject have been permanently established.

5. *Certain principles to be observed in psycho-analytic education.*

In psycho-analysis, as in all other education, it is impossible to point out an infallible method by means of general rules. In a general manner a good educator will reveal himself in the way in which he acquits himself of the analytic part of his task. I shall therefore confine myself to pointing out certain precepts for avoiding misunderstandings which may crop up from time to time.

Great care must be exercised in sparing the blushes of the subject under analysis. This point must be insisted upon, for, in psycho-analysis sexuality must be spoken of in very precise terms even if,—apart from diseases arising out of sexuality,—this has not to be done with that minuteness of detail which certain people, who have never seen an analysed child, are accustomed to denounce. In my opinion every properly conducted education should touch on sexuality. Paulsen, whose excellent treatise on education I greatly appreciate, finds that it is best to leave such questions to a physician of ripe age who, when the boy or girl leaves school, will give them the proper scientific instruction on the subject. (Pedagogics, p. 169.) We cannot indeed reproach this distin-

guished university professor for not knowing of the damaging influence of sexual theories as current among schoolchildren, but it is nevertheless striking to see a man of his mental calibre under the impression that the educator has accomplished his work if he has placed his pupils in a position to resist indecent words and conduct. (Ibid, p. 166.) Advice of this kind would be insufficient for overcoming false and indecent ideas which are already present; it would merely repress them, and we have shown elsewhere (The Psa. Method, pp. 92 and 187) what disastrous effect such a repression can have on the development of character. Paulsen's advice constitutes a danger for healthy children, and bars the only way to recovery of health to those who have been rendered or kept unhappy by sexual repression.

The essential task of psycho-analysis is to triumph over those sexual images and ideas which are present in a repressed state and which arrest moral development, frequently bringing on a moral malady, as can easily be demonstrated. It will certainly not be able to accomplish this task by remaining silent or by exhorting children not to think of ugly things. A little knowledge of the psychology of the unconscious is sufficient to show that measures of this nature cannot fail to have a disastrous effect. Is it not better for a mother to use her delicacy and intuition in satisfying her child's curiosity? This is a question put by general pedagogics. I believe in answering it in the affirmative, basing myself on psycho-analytic experience. In my opinion it is the parents as a rule, and not the teachers, whose duty it is to tell the child what is indispensable for him to know, and to inspire him with respect for the laws of Nature. A book resulting from a prize-competition of the "Dürerbund," entitled "At the Spring of Life," contains many excellent hints, side by side with others less recommendable, as to how one should acquit oneself of this important task, which must be taken very seriously. When a whole class is contaminated by obscene ideas the teacher will have to intervene, even in a

lower class, in a very prudent and chaste manner. Like Paulsen, I am of opinion that sexuality should be relegated to the background by stimulating the tendency to action. I would add: by encouraging the love of Nature, games, sports, friendship with clean-thinking boys. Rank and Sachs both rightly say that sexual knowledge, even healthy sexual knowledge, should not be imposed on a child. Sexual education can only be carried on in harmony with general education and not by specific measures. But when we have to do with troubles resulting from unhappy erotic experiences and conscious erroneous theories or, what is naturally much more serious, such as are repressed and unconscious, we must have recourse to psycho-analysis. By making injurious and unconscious ideas and images conscious, by imparting soothing instruction, it will make them inoffensive and prevent the wandering from the right path which would be the inevitable result of perseverance in the repression. The sooner this is done the greater will be the services rendered.

To be silent in face of a child who desires to know is to drive it towards repression by encouraging the idea that sexuality as a whole is something repugnant. In this way we run the risk of compromising the child's whole development. We shall never be able to know exactly how much evil has been caused by leaving sexual initiation to the indecent suggestions of the street.

The second principle deserving of particular mention is that of free filial piety. We often have to do with children who are suffering from the educational mistakes of their parents and who, in some sort, expiate the faults of their own fathers and mothers. They run a risk of becoming the victims of their own rancour. The analyst must not at any price appear to be taking the part of the parents, for by so doing he would strengthen the resistance to such a point that analysis would become impossible. He will begin by listening to all complaints and accusations without contradicting any of them. But in proportion as the

analysis advances the subject will be brought to perceive that his hatred is directed against a travestied image of his father or mother, and that even in the most unfavourable cases their faults are not so serious as a diseased imagination is apt to believe. A person who has been analysed ought to be reconciled with all men, but especially with his parents. No doubt he must also be able to perceive the faults of his parents if necessary and, if he has attained sufficient moral maturity, to safeguard his own inner freedom. But this does not exclude true filial piety. On the contrary, it is only on the basis of liberty that true respect is possible. Servility is the annihilation of the personality. By representing to us our Heavenly Father as the ultimate judge and giving us His will as our supreme law, Christianity has given us an eternally valuable standard.

A third principle to be recommended to the analyst concerns work. The forces liberated by analysis must be directed as far as possible to the world of reality, and it is particularly in the shape of work that this can be done. Every neurosis, as we know, is a partial renouncement of reality. If we wish to protect the mind from unhealthy dreams we must teach the necessity of conscientious work, which is not to be taken as imposed by outside circumstances or as a yoke. Appropriate work can, during the course of analytic education, supply admirable compensation for the energies which are spent in morbid symptoms. Idle people more easily fall victims to neurosis and remain longer in the nervous state than people who are engaged in work adapted to their strength. Hence I consider sanatoria for psycho-analysis as dangerous places. In a well-conducted institution the patients would feel themselves too well to allow themselves to be cured and sent out into active life; in a badly-conducted institution the resistances would be constantly increased. And on the whole the life led in such institutions makes it difficult for the inmates to take up work and duties. The one duty on which we must unceasingly insist is that of taking one's place in

human society for the purpose of being useful to it, of making a loyal effort to place one's little talents at the service of the community. Freud has several times demonstrated that only too often illness has certain advantages for idly-inclined people by sparing them effort of any kind, procuring them sympathy, etc. The way to help a person to overcome such temptation is to excite in him the feeling of duty and to incite him to take up a healthy and moral attitude towards life. Then he will no longer attempt to use his illness as a crutch. In order to be able to do this in a sanatorium we should need directors of exceptional energy and endowed with a very powerful social sentiment.

One point of view which the educational analyst will never lose sight of is that of inciting his pupils to generous actions and feelings. The neurotic person is, as we are aware, an isolated individual who has partly separated himself from his surroundings. Analysis should help him to build bridges, and the analyst is a *pontifex*, a bridge-builder in the best meaning the word can convey. By loving others we serve ourselves. We owe a debt of gratitude to those whom we are allowed to love; without them we should sink into darkness.

It is important to make the subject under analysis perceive that the art of living is the art of making sacrifices. Those who cannot give up some great part of their desires deserve our pity. But it must likewise be shown that loyal renunciation which has its source neither in cowardice nor idleness, but in a clear view of matters, always bears good fruit. Renunciation conformable to reason and conscience, sanctioned by the whole spiritual self, spares us the cruel fight for the impossible, and gives that inner feeling of security which permits us to obtain the maximum of good. In order to prevent fresh repressions during the critical time of analysis we must not limit ourselves purely and simply to refusing our subject the satisfaction of misplaced desires. Before the commencement of the analysis we must make him promise not to undertake any important step without first

consulting us. In this way we shall avoid unhappy compensations which the subject might look for under the power of the repressed. But we must always try to sublimate the pleasures and to replace those which we have refused by better ones. It is important for the subject to be continually reminded that it is he, and not the analyst, who has to do the principal work and has the chief responsibility for its success. Hence we should encourage him to seek himself the interpretation of his symptoms, but at the same time one should point out that the solutions which he may find will not suffice to cure him (in the case of introverted people they may even be dangerous) because the transference, the bridge leading to reality, is lacking. The extent to which one can leave the subject to himself varies according to individual cases. It is clear that the object of the analysis is free self-determination, independently of the analyst; the manner of attaining it depends on the careful regulation of the transference.

In conclusion I would like to advise you not to reveal the full extent of his malady to the subject, above all at the outset. It is better to pass over one or two interpretations occasionally, otherwise there is some risk of frightening him and increasing his sufferings. There is something brutal in suddenly presenting a mass of interior anomalies or disquieting facts to a person who knows nothing at all of the unconscious. Such a proceeding would merely increase the resistance and the ills of the neurotic person. Our own love of our fellow-men should prevent us from acting thus, a charity which should gleam like mild sunshine over the whole of the analysis, soothing, consoling and encouraging, from the very first moment. Love alone can lead to love, to a pure and strong love of God and one's neighbour. It is through God that we arrive most easily at the goal of education of which Paulsen speaks: the passage of the individual from animality to humanity.

6. *The training of the educator.*

That which psycho-analysis has to offer the educator

depends in great measure on the educator himself. Psycho-analytic work has confirmed by unexpected observations the so often experienced fact that the education of the educator is a fundamental condition of pedagogic success. Every nervous phenomenon implies a diminution of our self-mastery, a loss of personal forces in the unconscious. Those who have observed how many affections and hatreds, feelings and actions, depend on repressed psychic forces, and how great a part of the strength of most people is lying fallow owing to hidden inhibitions, already expect at the outset strong obstacles to education in the shape of neurotic repressions. It is a terrible thing to have to observe the extent of such inhibitions and their injurious effect on children. With all due respect to the teaching body, whose members are certainly amongst the most capable and the most honourable of citizens, we must not close our eyes to what is human and only too human in their character, and it is a poor consolation to say that things are not much better amongst pastors, doctors, etc. Many a superfluous irritability, many a cruel and violent severity, many an unconscious partiality, many a disgust of work is, if examined closely, nothing but a symptom of neurosis. Many teachers whose gifts would permit them to perform remarkably good work do little good and much evil because, without knowing it and consequently without attempting to combat it, they are themselves victims of neurosis. It would not be difficult, indeed, to write a big book on the classical defects of teachers and their relations to the repressed. For instance: A teacher complains at the commencement of the analysis, that he has great difficulty in maintaining discipline, that he is often compelled to punish, whereas others manage without it. He has the feeling that it is chiefly his own fault, but he cannot help it. After several weeks of analytic work, which emancipated him from a disgust of life, an intense religious anxiety, a misanthropic isolation and other symptoms, he acknowledged that his relations with his pupils are now transformed; they obey

him without difficulty, they are attached to him, and their homework no longer gives cause for complaint.

True moral value must be supplemented by careful theoretical and practical training. According to the opinion of all competent men, it is a great mistake to imagine that one can analyse thoroughly before one has been analysed oneself. If one is bound by repressions or inhibitions, one will be incapable of understanding the difficulties of one's subjects. We shall say a few words on the manner of learning psycho-analysis at the conclusion of these lectures.

7. *The application of pedanalysis.*

Psycho-analysis is an edged instrument which it is dangerous to wield awkwardly. We cannot too often warn people against thoughtless application of the treatment, and we must consider as an abuse every treatment that is not fully aware of the possible consequences and dangers. It is better to leave the analysis of children severely alone than to launch upon a semi-quack system. I owe it, therefore, to myself and to you to give you some indications as to the practice of psycho-analytical education.

(a) Direct analysis of a *sick* child must not be made except after preliminary diagnosis by a medical man, and only if he considers it necessary, and it is to be done under his constant control. A layman is often not in the position to decide whether the cause of trouble is organic or psychic. It may happen that the medical man cannot do so before making an analysis, but he will, as I have observed often enough, quietly admit this and decide whether a psychological investigation is necessary. The studies of a medical man make him the most suitable person to decide whether a certain case is or is not to be entrusted to the educator. He alone is authorised by law to take over this responsibility. No doubt there is a difficulty. Many physicians, even those who are strangers to psycho-analysis and occupied, like Dubois at Berne, with psychotherapy, have ascertained that considerable numbers of diseases are due to psychic

causes. Conservative medical men who maintain that the personality of the physician is, at bottom, the principal therapeutic factor—and there are many such medical men—thus admit that the art of healing is to a great degree psychotherapeutic. But very little is done to initiate medical students into this psychotherapy, and the place it occupies in medical studies is infinitesimal. What psychiatry has to offer is of great importance and in many respects indispensable to pedanalysis, but it does not absolutely suffice for the expert practice of psychotherapy. Hence we have the curious fact that in thousands of cases the medical man is called upon to do educative work for which he possesses neither the necessary training nor knowledge. The extraordinary popularity of recent years of curing by prayer is partly explained by the fact of its success in the case of patients who had been under medical treatment for some years without result. Even quacks, that exceedingly harmful body, owe their financial success to the psychotherapeutic incapacities of medical men and to their narrow physiological and materialistic conception of disease.

In spite of this, however, I repeat my precept never to analyse a sick child without the permission of a medical man, preferably, of course, of one versed in psycho-analysis. This is a precaution we owe both to the patients and to analysis itself. If owing to this, many children are kept back from an analysis which might have done them good, the evil will not be so great as it would be if a child suffering from *dementia præcox* were to be still more fettered by repression owing to analysis, or if a person suffering from kidney disease had been treated, if only for a day, for hysterical St. Vitus' dance. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that psycho-analysis itself is compromised by such mistakes. If a hundred medical men make a mistake in treating an evil of psychic origin physiologically, that would not cause so much fuss as would be caused if an analytic educator should once undertake to cure an organic evil by spiritual methods.

In a general manner recourse will only be had to

thorough analysis when the ulterior development of the individual is seriously threatened. This is Freud's opinion as well. If suggestion or a good education on healthy pedagogic principles is sufficient for removing the trouble, the simplest path must be followed. But there are also cases in which psycho-analysis can in a few hours, or even in a few minutes, solve a very complicated psychological situation. (The *Psa. Method*, pp. 85 and 180.)

A superficial analysis is frequently very beneficial because what remains is afterwards easily overcome by means of suggestion. The physician—if possible, the psycho-analytic physician, *i.e.*, for the time being the nervous specialist only—will indicate such cases in which a simpler or a more thorough analysis is to be taken up.

(b) Direct analysis of *healthy* children lies entirely in the domain in which the educator alone has the responsibility. This is a reason for us to be particularly cautious. We have no right to try all sorts of experiments on the children committed to our care. The only right we have is to help them to become good and capable men. My reason for uttering these well-worn truths in this place is that evil tongues have not hesitated to affirm that psycho-analysts analyse here, there and everywhere without caring about the consequences. It is obvious that I consider thoughtlessly undertaken analysis as a pedagogic fault, and I have never hesitated to say so whenever occasion arose. If mistakes have been committed they are to be deplored, but the method itself must not be made responsible. If many an appendix has been removed without necessity, that does not prove anything against the methods of operating for appendicitis.

There is, of course, no harm in getting a healthy child to tell you his dreams from time to time, and gathering the associations suggested to him by them, but if it happens that unpleasant desires appear, it is not necessary to call the child's attention to them. On the other hand we can analyse without the child's

noticing it. Those who observe children carefully can guess a good many things from their fluttering, bird-like thoughts, distractions, symbolical acts, hesitations in conversation, etc.

A very faithful field of pedanalysis is that supplied by those numerous adolescents and adults who are in good health from a medical point of view, but whose characters are strongly influenced by repressions. A great many men are in need of analysis because they cannot raise themselves to the level of sublimation, either because they are prevented by repression from so doing, or because their vices are imposed on them like a kind of neurotic obsession, even if there is no suggestion of disease. Analysis would also be beneficial to those who had founded their sublimation on a repression and, owing to their inability to master their impulses, have fallen from the heights into the abyss. And those who are more or less isolated from the world, scholiasts who are strangers to reality; absent-minded dreamers who can only concentrate themselves on their work with great trouble, if at all; egoists; misanthropes who feel nothing but disgust for humanity; pessimists who are driven to despair by the sufferings of the world; mystics who are dead to reality; ascetics who martyr themselves: all these would benefit by analysis. But we should likewise wish emancipation by analysis to those who are deceived in their reaction to their environment, to Don Juans, to Nature and Beauty enthusiasts who have no heart for Man, to bigots who throw an impure light on religious objects, to pushers, men of unhealthy ambition, tyrants, misers, malignants, distorted, suspicious and revengeful persons, kleptomaniacs and liars and a crowd of other unhappy people who never attain moral deliverance owing to their inhibitions, in spite of all their efforts and the exhortations and encouragements offered them. Many a criminal who has been considered incurable might have been saved by psycho-analysis. And this rescue would imply far less expenditure of energy and less suffering than that entailed by penal justice in its present deplorable state.

Nobody can indicate all the cases in which psycho-analysis would be of immense benefit to healthy adults, for the number of such cases is legion; there is no adult who does not suffer from unconscious and consequently injurious inhibitions. But there are very few who are willing to submit to analysis.

(c) Psycho-analytic education likewise possesses indirect advantages, and even those who do not practise it can derive benefit from its study. Every teacher who has approached it has been astonished to perceive the number of phenomena which had hitherto been a mystery to him and to which psycho-analysis has supplied the key. Without making a complete enquiry, one is frequently in a position at least to show in what direction steps must be taken. In this way much can be done to cure existing evils and to prevent those which are threatening.

8. *Objections to psycho-analysis.*

In the opinion of competent persons psycho-analysis has opened out new paths in several domains, and yet up to now it has found but few practical adepts. This is explained on the one hand by the comparative difficulty of studying it thoroughly, and on the other by the incredibly violent attacks to which it has been subject from various quarters, in spite of enthusiastic approval from others. You must not expect me, however, to mount the high horse in my righteous indignation, and to brandish my sword at the enemy. Nor do I intend to break into elegiac lamentations about the short-sightedness of Man and his gregarious spirit, which is less concerned with truth than with the safeguarding of traditional habits and customs, and which pursues innovators with grim hospitality. I shall not allude to what several of us have had to suffer for our psycho-analytic activity. The best way to defend psycho-analysis is not to reply in sharp polemics to the unfounded and unjust remarks of our opponents, but to do our duty by accomplishing that which our enemies, critics and mockers would not have been capable of doing. But there can be no

harm in controverting for once the objections to psycho-analysis. These objections are directed above all against the scientific reliability of the method, Freud's sexual theory, the treatment of sick pupils by educators, the raking up of ideas which had better been left in the unconscious, and the destruction of the spontaneous personality of the subjects analysed.

The scientific value of psycho-analytic treatment depends on the care, impartiality and intuition of the analyst. To choose certain interpretations, for instance those of typical symptoms, to isolate them from their context, to cover them with mocking remarks and expose them to the sarcasm of the ignorant, all this cannot, in the eyes of a competent judge, refute the interpretations themselves. No vainer attempt could be conceived than that of calling psycho-analysis an absurd method because some of its partisans have abused it. I do not deny that many mistakes in the shape of false interpretations have been committed in psycho-analytic circles. In the explanation which it gives of certain casual relations, psycho-analysis, I admit, is exposed to the same uncertainty as any other historical observation. But it cannot be denied that the comparison of analogous psychic processes allows us to correct individual errors. The laws discovered by analysis have been so often proven that there can be no question of illusion. The trustworthiness of psycho-analysis in its general propositions is at least equal to that which may be conceded to the majority of incontestable sciences. No subjective factor which may intervene in a particular case can change this.

The second objection (at least in its habitual form) can be purely and simply refuted. The psycho-analytic method, I may again remind you, is independent of every sexual theory. If we eliminate Freud's own theory that does not condemn psycho-analysis as a whole. But it is time to do justice to Freud's sexual theory. It is true that his own psycho-analysis has been in the main a sexual one, and that it has left other considerations in the background,

whereby superficial and prejudiced readers might easily believe that Freud derives all psychic life from a single instinct. But he has himself very distinctly protested against this false conception of psycho-analysis. The fact that he first turned his attention towards sexuality may be considered as a fortunate one, for no other instinct had been so imperfectly known and no other is so exposed to repression. Even determined opponents have been obliged to admit that Freud's penetrating researches into this delicate subject have performed incontestable services. If we reproach the inventor of psycho-analysis for not having paid enough attention to the study of other human functions, or, as I put it, for having neglected the organic side of psychology, we might as well call Columbus to account for omitting to discover Australia and the two poles when he discovered America.

Moreover, a little modesty in judgment would not be out of place before one has explored the territory a little. Myself I would not have believed it possible that there could be so many cases of ill-treated sexuality and love which led to disease even in a great number of normal cases of education. I have not one single example to withdraw of the large number quoted in my chief work. No doubt I examine to-day with more care than formerly these repressions which are strangers to sexuality and to love, particularly those which touch our life's task, our need of free activity and the desire of approbation. I try every time to find out whether the sexual troubles are not due to intrinsic causes and whether they have not become over-important secondarily. I also take into account those cases in which a sexual image arises and transforms and sublimates a former lower image according to the law of relation. The result of these efforts is that sexuality appears less in the foreground than when it is made responsible for all nervous cases. But nevertheless the fact remains that in an incalculable number of morbid repressions the fault must be attributed to misuse of sexuality in the narrow sense of the word, or of love for one's near ones or of conjugal

love. This is not conducive, it must be admitted, to the popularity of psycho-analysis, and many an analyst would wish it to be otherwise. But who are we that we should criticise human nature? In order to exercise a moral action we must begin by *learning and recognising the facts as they are*. Then, and only then, shall we be able to build something higher and beyond them on this foundation. The reproach that psycho-analysis exaggerates the rôle of primitive eroticism should spur us on to analyse the other domains of psychic life with the same care. The subject and his needs will, indeed, point out the direction to be followed.

The assertion that it is not the educator's business to deal with sick children overlooks the large number of pupils who, without being ill in the medical sense of the term, are nevertheless in need of analysis. I refer to the carpers and persecutors, the suspicious and the loveless, etc. Even the most illustrious and experienced medical men, Freud in particular, have stated their conviction that teachers are the very men for undertaking the education of these kinds of sick children and adults, provided they take the proper precautions. A physician who has none but physiological knowledge, and neither the general education nor the necessary knowledge of psycho-analysis, is incapable of the task. The objections to psycho-analysis of medical men who are totally ignorant of this science cannot be considered as possessing any value.

There is another form of criticism which says: It is dangerous and even injurious to rake up the repressed, seeing that this must necessarily be a painful process. The answer to this objection is furnished by the parallel of surgical intervention. If there are inhibitions caused by resistance which hinder the full play of personality and cannot be removed by other means, either the patient must be declared incurable and left to suffer terribly, perhaps, during the whole of his life, or recourse must be had to analysis. There is no other alternative. Experience has shown (and even fanatic opponents like Hoche admit the fact) that

psycho-analysis has indeed cured many people. Of course the analyst must know what to do with the matter that has been dug up. If he merely works haphazard by flinging a mass of terrifying revelations at his patient's head, by taking up only part of the factors of the illness and commanding silence about the remainder, the result will be as injurious as would be the conduct of a surgeon who merely probes a wound without getting to the seat of the trouble, or does other stupid acts. But discreet analysis does not act in this manner. The analyst will never fail, if his subject perceives that he has himself destroyed part of his life's happiness, to console him by pointing to the prospects of a happier future and helping him to overcome these bitter hours by words of affection and kindness. I would like to remind you once more that a healthy conception of life and religion can perform yeoman service in this respect. What Schiller said is true: "Secrets are for the happy; unhappiness and despair need no veil." But analysis shows that the supposed despair is in reality devoid of foundation.

The last objection is that the discovery of the unconscious destroys all spontaneity and genius, turning Man into a "Philistine," to speak with Matthew Arnold. We have already alluded to this objection. Many an artist has refused analysis for fear of losing his creative power. It is indeed true that the highest intuitions are born of the greatest suffering. "What is a poet without suffering? What the ocean without storms? Priesthood is acquired only at the price of tears, heavenly tones are dearly bought, the glory of the poet has its ransom." (After Lermontoff.) But there are many artistic souls who are lost to true art, as to life, owing to their subliminal inhibitions. Even if they were to lose their creative power, the greater gain would be to give them back to reality. Life is more than art. Further, it is quite inexact to maintain that professional analysis obstructs the deepest sources. The very best analysis never penetrates to the lowest depths. There is no absolute analysis. Moreover, it is not necessary to carry the

analysis further than is needed for restoring complete plenitude to life. I have never observed a permanent arrest of the power of genius. Temporary desolation often occurs after the abandonment of the morbid symptoms, but this is merely a transition state preparatory to higher production. When the powerful psychic energies which have hitherto exhausted themselves in valueless symptoms, have been subjected to the mind, may it not be presumed that the creations of the mind will now become more powerful? It is only when the sublimation is defective, *i.e.*, when the educative goal has not been reached, that great mental work cannot be carried out. I have observed a happy increase of the creative faculties in a large number of poets and painters who have been analysed.

And now it would not be very difficult to turn the tables on our adversaries and criticise *their* methods. There is one reproach which we can fling at them with a good conscience: *we* at least are speaking of a matter which we have tried and tested for many years; our opponents discuss a question in which they have no experience whatever. Instead of making methodical tests for themselves they write treatises and big books about Freud and his school. They sagaciously point out that there are several gaps in the explanations, instead of assisting us by helpful work to fill up these lacunæ. They criticise our terminology without attempting to provide a fitter one; as if the principal thing in a discovery were its name! They fearfully close their eyes to the fundamental facts which we have a hundred times brought to light, and which they have an opportunity of observing day by day. Is this an attitude worthy of serious scientific men?

Together with the scientific polemics there is also a method of attack which has recourse to strange weapons.

Only movements of paramount importance can be simultaneously attacked and defended with so much rancour and passion (to put it mildly) by the coryphæi of science. It is a comfort to think that—as I have

said—our adversaries, all and sundry, have not the slightest experience in the domain which they attack : this certainly gives them the advantage of being able to say what they like. But the assurances of experienced people will make a greater impression on unprejudiced minds than the assertions of the ignorant, even if the latter attempt to substitute invective for truth. Decided opponents, such as Ernest Dürr, professor of philosophy at the University of Berne, were transformed into warm advocates of psycho-analysis as soon as they had commenced to study it thoroughly.

Those opponents who are competent and who fight openly are always welcome. But analysts have not met with many of this sort up to now. We have, however, had other joys, and the moment has now come to speak of these.

9. *The benefits of psycho-analytic education.*

Those who are aware of the persecutions to which psycho-analysts have been subjected for years may well ask themselves how it is that the number of people who are applying themselves to this science are constantly increasing. As one who has himself frequently been attacked, I would like to give this answer : We devote ourselves to Freud's method because it never ceases to procure us the greatest joy which an educator can feel, namely, that of helping the unhappy to escape from their distress, and to turn away the dangers which threaten them. To this must be added a scientific enrichment the range of which calls forth the admiration of competent men. I would almost prefer at this point to say no more than this : "Study psycho-analysis yourselves and see with your own eyes what an immense benefit it will be for your pedagogic and scientific work." This would be the only manner of convincing the sceptics. They would then recognise that success is not merely a matter of the personality of the analyst, as has been insinuated, but that the same man succeeds in solving with the aid of psycho-analysis pedagogic problems with more ease than before. But our series of lectures is entitled : "Psycho-

analysis in the service of education ; hence I must here pass its successes in review.

In the first instance we may state that psycho-analysis enables us to comprehend thousands of phenomena which had been inexplicable before Freud's day because we had no access to the secret chambers and inner laboratories of psychic life. To-day we can descend into these subliminal regions where the threads of destiny are spun, not by grey-haired Fates, but by the deep-lying powers of the personality itself. The soul of Man is like a besieged fortress. Threatened by the rolling fire of enemy batteries, some of the instincts have retreated to the deepest cellars. There sit a part, and not the least part, of the psychic authorities, perhaps the commander-in-chief himself, to whom the combatants owe obedience. Or, it may be, there are rival commanders there who cross the plans made in the midst of the combat by the regular powers. The conquest of these underground regions, where sometimes excellent plans are hatched, is a grand thing. Nohl compares it to the conquest of the air. I shall never forget the face of one of our best pedagogues who had fought against psycho-analysis for months, on the day when he confessed to me : " It is incredible what psycho-analysis can do to explain enigmas in the life of schoolchildren and of Man in general."

If we had the time I would gladly return to all the facts I signalled at the beginning as objects of psychoanalysis. We have already reviewed some of these and you will understand the explanation of the others by analogy. The ensuing discussion will permit us again to take up those phenomena to which I have alluded and which have attracted your particular attention. My book, to which I have already referred several times, will also explain some of the cases mentioned.

The new psychology founded by Freud, which has no costly arsenal of apparatus and demands no manual skill, has unquestionably a hundred times more importance for the educator than traditional

psychology, about the narrowness of which there can no longer be any illusions. The complaints of pedagogues about the disappointments caused by experimental psychology are becoming louder and louder every day. They expected from it a crowd of useful instruction for their daily educational tasks, and it leaves them with empty hands. I must make an exception in the case of Stern, Alois Fischer and some works of the school of Külpe. Those men who are interested in the facts of the inner life, such as it is, will not be able to satisfy their curiosity elsewhere than in psycho-analysis.

Psychology, working on traditional and old-fashioned lines, has ardently scrutinised the elementary processes of mental life.

The results of these researches of half a century are more than modest, and there is hardly any agreement on those points from which a definite conclusion might have been drawn. The hypotheses about the nature of feeling and volition are so opposed to one another that the spectacle of the fray is not without amusement for the spectator. We shall pursue these same studies, and we shall appropriate their results conscientiously where such results are to be noted. But we claim the right to scrutinise the superior processes of the soul with the same ardour, and have indeed already gathered a number of conclusions of paramount importance. The traditional psychology, which pursues us with such violence, is like a physiology which should confine itself more and more narrowly to the study of inter-cellular life and declare that it has no time to trouble about other things before this secret has been discovered. Meanwhile Man would starve and perish because the science of nutrition and pathology had been left in the lurch by physiology. Our psychology, on the other hand, is like that physiology which attends to nutrition, the respiratory functions, growth, metabolism, etc., without depriving cellular physiology of its delicate domain. For we psycho-analysts are seriously occupied with school psychology, whereas this science

looks down on us with contempt from its high pedestal and indulges in invective. As we do not, however, care for external success, but only for the scientific gain, we can overcome numerous and powerful forces against us.

A further gain which carries us beyond ordinary psychological activity is the influence which the unconscious powers of the soul so powerfully exercise on the psychic activities. We have seen—to keep to our image of the fortress—that Freud's method opens us the way to the subterranean vaults where the commanders make their secret plans and send out their orders. We now know where the enemies of our free mastery of life and self are hidden, and we can arrange our forces accordingly. Nay, we know more: we are aware of the motives which have induced the enemy to hide beneath the earth. We can force the cowardly inhabitants of the caves to look their adversary in the face and, instead of hiding themselves, to take up their position for an open combat. You understand my parable. I mean, to speak plainly, that analysis procures us the most decisive influence on the unconscious because it reveals to us the seat of the evil and teaches us how to apply our shoulder to the right wheel. It helps us to triumph over the resistance and motives which oppose the re-entry of the repressed into the conscious; it discovers the secret of the cipher and stops the cryptographic messages by preventing the powers of the past from giving behind-hand commands which they were not asked for, and obliging them to settle accounts with the present desires and thoughts of the individual. Psycho-analysis thus emancipates us from the unconscious despotism which, by enslaving the present and the future to the past, diminishes in great measure our mastery of ourselves, and obstructs the normal relations of the various mental activities.

You can thus see the number of morbid or unpleasant symptoms that are subjected to psychoanalysis. The tangible results correspond to the expectations which the theoretical considerations permit us to have.

We spoke at the beginning of the impotence of traditional psychology in the presence of the majority of the cases with which psycho-analysis is concerned. Now we see the reason for this impotence. Those pedagogic systems which merely take the conscious into account only manage to repress the unconscious when it is endowed with a feeble co-efficient of energy. The inner conflict, which is always the one to be dealt with, is neither settled nor eliminated. Hence the failures of this method, particularly in the case of sick pupils.

Let us take any one of the innumerable cases of neurotic persons whose ill-mannered or even criminal attitude possesses the character of an obsession, of an almost irresistible instinct, such as kleptomania or mythomania. It is a matter of common knowledge that even neurotic persons suffering from severe neurosis are not absolutely incapable of conquering a bad habit, at least for a short time, by means of an extraordinary effort of will. But their sufferings usually increase thereby so as to become almost intolerable. Hence it is quite possible that temporary success may be gained by rewards and punishments. But do you not think this an unnecessary and useless torture, even when it helps on the surface? (And it may be mentioned that as a rule it does not even have any apparent result!) Think for a moment of the only means known to Paulsen for strengthening the will: example, discipline and instruction. How gladly would the habitual liar like to follow the example of men whom he sincerely admires! How many youthful Don Juans suffer from their inability to lead a pure life in harmony with their consciences and on the model of those whom they respect! All the disciplinary exercises recommended by Paulsen break to pieces against the rocks behind which the unconscious is entrenched. The exterior means of reward and punishment are so useless and even injurious when dealing with victims of repression that only psychological ignorance can make use of them. And it is the pupil who suffers. What should we say

of a rifleman who, on trying to hit a piece of money at the bottom of water, aims at the coin as it looks to him? Every analyst-educator has principally to do with subjects who have been treated and ill-treated for years without success by the old psychological methods. As long as methods which may have some value for those who are not suffering from repression are applied to those who are, the list of educational sins will grow longer and longer. That is what pains us. We who know that the youthful delinquent, like the neurotic person, is in reality aspiring to something quite other than what he is carrying out, and that it is impossible for him or, in many cases impossible without great suffering, to act otherwise than he does, we come to the aid of the erring soul by explaining his true condition and re-directing his inhibited or deviated instincts. By doing so we also instruct, but our instruction does not consist of religious and moral doctrines only, however valuable these may be in their proper place. Our teaching bears on the personal self, and we thus indicate new possibilities of life; we create the aptitude of realising what has been recognised as good and desirable without promising absolute mastery of the lower instincts in Man. Hence we work into the hands of the general educator. "By their fruits shall ye know them." Without wishing to boast, we can claim a rich harvest. Often our work has been incredibly rapid; at other times slow and painful. On the whole pedanalysis is a painful and tedious process. Judged by its results we can even now present psycho-analysis as an exceedingly fecund and promising educative method. The time is not far distant, I am sure, when Freud, the much-maligned and much-admired founder of psycho-analysis, will be ranked among the great inspirers of pedagogics. Pedanalysis has already given a new impetus to many a career. A crowd of prodigal sons who, according to traditional methods, would have been considered incapable of improvement, have entered on that path of life which we educators consider as the only worthy one. It is important to note, too, that in such cases

future psychic malformations have been prevented. This prophylactic activity is certainly not inferior to the therapeutic.

By devoting himself to psycho-analysis the educator dives deeper into the childish soul than any other can, and this is in itself a great advantage. And every analysis of others is an analysis of oneself, for in others there is always a fragment of our own soul, and everybody reminds us of our own nature. Hence analytic education is an education of oneself in a far greater degree than any other method of education.

Finally I would remind you that even those educators who do not themselves analyse may find great profit in studying the psycho-analytic work of others. I trust that, in the following discussion, those of you who have refrained from analysis because you have not yet fulfilled the preliminary conditions for practising it, will prove that great benefit is to be obtained from a knowledge of its principles, and that not only for the sake of understanding, but for treating one's pupils properly.

I shall have no time to discuss the theoretical principles which bear on pedagogics from the discoveries of Freud and the work of his disciples. Most of what I have to say on this subject is to be found in my book. (The Psa. Method, Ch. 28, pp. 544-574.)

10. *The future of psycho-analysis.*

You need not be afraid that I am going to finish by draping myself in the prophet's mantle and prognosticating the future. The important thing for us is not so much the future in itself as what claims it makes on us. For this we must start from the present state of things.

We are in the midst of a battle of creeds. A body of men, small indeed when compared with the large number of professional men, but constantly increasing in size, is fighting for the good cause. Opposed to this body are the mass of scientific men who have taken or must take up an attitude towards it.

Scientific men can be divided into two classes. Some are eager to test what is new, are happy when they have found it to be true, and lend it their active support. The other kind are opposed to everything new because it compels them to re-learn what they imagined they knew.

They run it down without proof as scientific nonsense, even as a moral scandal, until one day they suddenly discover that these new things are not new at all, have, in fact, been known for a long time, and although perfectly correct, are quite insignificant. It is only after these two stages, the second of which is generally shorter than the other, that the majority of scientific men assent to new facts. This has nearly always been the case in the history of science. Is it, then, a wonder if it has happened to psycho-analysis?

But it is distressing to note the means employed by its opponents, who had formerly put the facts disdainfully on one side, and now try to hide their embarrassment. Nothing has been spared us from the daring invention of libellous tittle-tattle to the fulminations of a scientific council, from bold caricature of our statements to public persecution. But all this matters little, and we can swallow it down. Our work brings us ample satisfaction. It is better to be the "enemy of the people" than the rogue who knows the truth and says it not!

But there are plenty of scientific men who, undeterred by the noise of the adversary, and urged on by an incorruptible love of truth, have tested psycho-analysis and not found it wanting. Those who think that the possession of truth is a privilege of university chairs will doubtless be impressed by the increasing number of professors who are advocates of psycho-analysis. And there are large numbers of leading scientific men whose work is well-known, who have, without yielding one iota of their independence of thought, admitted the truth of several principles of the great Viennese "heretic." The most remarkable thing is, however, that even among the most violent opponents of psycho-analysis many cannot but admit

the importance of several of Freud's discoveries. Stern himself (*Zeitsch. f. angew. Psychologie*, 1919, 8th year, p. 72), who combats Freud with such vigour, has the honesty to inscribe among the conquests of science the latter's doctrine of the repressed, ab-reaction, emotional misplacement, the activity of the unconscious which is often in opposition to the conscious—in a word, the fundamental principles of psycho-analysis! In the presence of such assertions one cannot help asking oneself why these men, who approve of the principles of analysis that necessarily transform the whole of psychology, do not themselves move a finger in order to take part in the exploration of the newly-discovered continents.

It would be a vain proceeding to quote the names of those scientific men who are convinced partisans of the principal doctrines of psycho-analysis. Among the psychologists I may mention with just pride Professor Th. Flournoy, of Geneva, and his colleague Edouard Claparède, Stanley Hall, ⁽¹⁾ the celebrated psychologist of youth and religion who rallied around psycho-analysis at an already advanced age. Among pedagogues and psychologists I may mention Professor Paul Haeberlin, of Berne, under whose auspices Ulrich Grüninger recently published the first doctoral dissertation dealing with psycho-analysis, and his predecessor, Ernest Dürr, of whom we have been too early bereft by death. I feel great pleasure in naming Mr. Pierre Bovet, director of the Institute, J. J. Rousseau, Geneva, formerly professor at the University of Neuchâtel. The majority of professors who have taken up psycho-analysis are to be found among the psychiatrists: I will mention only Bleuler of Zurich, Ernest Jones of London, formerly at Toronto, Hoch, Jelliffe and Ad. Meyer at New York, White at Washington, Jelgersmaa of Leyden, Putman of Boston. A few years ago we could name only Bleuler as being the one university professor who was a partisan of psycho-analysis. Many other investigators have

(1) See his preface to the English version of my principal work, translated by Dr. Charles R. Payne, of Wadhams, N.Y. Moffat, Yard & Co., N.Y., 1917.

accepted some of Freud's most important doctrines; I may remind you of Havelock Ellis, Morton Prince and Aloys Fischer.

In the face of these facts are we not right in looking confidently forward to the future of educative analysis? But it is not desirable for the bulk of teachers now to plunge into practical psycho-analysis, for nothing could be more dangerous than the intrusion of people of insufficient training. It is nevertheless extremely desirable that all those who intend specialising in educational questions should acquire a solid theoretical knowledge of pedanalysis. That would of itself be a great advantage for school hygiene and school management.

Yet I hope, too, that many teachers will acquaint themselves thoroughly with the practice of psycho-analysis by acquiring not only the necessary theoretical and technical knowledge, but also by themselves submitting to analysis. This is, in truth, not easy. There is no institution where practical educators and teachers can be trained in psycho-analysis. Lectures alone would not be sufficient. What is wanted is a series of lectures in the course of which exercises could be carried out according to strictly scientific methods, and children or adults analysed. The future analyst must likewise themselves be analysed. An institution of this kind is a real necessity, and he who undertakes to found one would acquire the gratitude of all competent men ⁽¹⁾ A promising beginning has been made by Messrs. Flournoy and Claparède at Geneva, who have held lectures on psycho-analysis and introduced regular lessons on the educational application of psycho-analysis into the *Ecole des Sciences de l'Education* (Institut J. J. Rousseau), first given by Mr. E. Schneider, now professor at the University of Riga, and then by Miss H. Malan. What a magnificent thing it would be if these beginnings should give birth to a real institution for the teaching of psycho-analysis!

(1) I am ready to give (by letter) as much information as possible to those who would like to take up the study of pedanalysis seriously.

The place where these lectures are being given is not far from the Beatus Grotto, the neighbourhood of which has given me the idea of a historical fancy. It was a stormy time; the Huns were invading the country; clouds of smoke and seas of blood marked their passage. They reached the shores of the lake where Beatus was serving God in the solitudes of the rocks. He advanced to the savage hordes, made the sign of the cross, and they withdrew. But the feeble and uneasy people had fled before the invaders and taken refuge in the deepest of the caves. With souls filled with mortal terror they hastened into the gloomy abyss through the stalactites and subterranean streams. Sometimes they passed through narrow corridors, at others through the mazy windings of the labyrinth. They were now safe from every enemy. When the barbaric storm had passed away the harassed people found themselves in the bowels of the mountain from which they could not find an outlet. Only their cries of despair reached the outside. Beatus heard them. He shuddered at the thought of plunging into that dark abyss: he had never once ventured into it. But the cries of distress left him no peace. He made a bold resolution, took down the sanctuary lamp from its chain and descended into the depths of the rock. And he saved the captive people who had seemed to be doomed; he liberated these precious lives, he brought them back to the light of day, and they were as in a dream. On that day did the messenger of faith truly deserve his name of Beatus, the happy one, for there is no greater happiness than that of saving lost souls.

You understand me. The unconscious is the world of the spirits of earth. Abundant spiritual life is buried there and cries out for deliverance. He whose sight has been sharpened by analysis sees before him miseries without number caused by repressions, and the misery is increasing because educators, almost without exception, are incapable of understanding the causes of these repressions. Not everyone is called upon to descend into the kingdom of the shades in

order to free the fettered souls. But he whose heart is pure and has received the call, he who will undertake this noble task without allowing himself to be disconcerted by enmity or fatigue, he, indeed, will know the noblest of pleasures. He will become "Beatus," the happy one, for he will have helped to free the captives.

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